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ABSTRACT

Educational systems are changing rapidly all over the world. The practice of developed countries borrowing educational practices from other developed countries is as widespread as that of underdeveloped nations borrowing from developed countries in the creation of education systems. The primary trends of educational reform in post-World War II Europe are examined for their philosophical, political, sociological, and economic antecedents and ramifications. This structural analysis provides a model of functions and dysfunctions of certain educational features. Of special interest is the channeling of students, early in their careers, into academic, vocational, or technical paths, and the effect of this process on the perservation of a traditional class structure. Appendixes present summaries of case studies from England, France, and Sweden on the topics of educational policy, structural reorganization in education, and curricular reform. (RA)

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A CROSS-NATIONAL AND INTER-DISCIPLINARY ANALYSIS OF SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL CHANGE IN ENGLAND, FRANCE AND SWEDEN

Prepared by

Participants in the Project
undertaken by The Comparative and
International Education Society,
The Comparative Education Society of
Europe and Kent State University,
Kent, Ohio, 44240

Principal Reporter

Dr. Brian Holmes
Institute of Education
University of London
London, England

June 1, 1970

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
Bureau of Research

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PREFACE
AND
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research project originated with Professor Gerald H. Read. His wide experience of education throughout the world and his long service as Secretary-Treasurer of the Comparative and International Education Society persuaded him that the processes of educational reform through the world should be studied more intensively. He considered that one way of doing this would be to promote international and interdisciplinary investigations. It seemed desirable to involve comparative education societies in such work. The well established Comparative Education Society in Europe had among its members many of the leading scholars in the field. The interest taken by Americans in European affairs, and the clash of emphasis in educational policy in countries formerly administered by European powers justified an approach to the European Society whose backing was obtained at its 1967 general conference in Ghent.

Dr. Brian Holmes, Secretary-Treasurer of the Comparative Education Society in Europe, and Professor C. Arnold Anderson were invited by Professor Read as organizing director to be joint academic directors. Together the directors worked out a plan of research and a time schedule. The intention was to investigate policy changes in Europe in secondary education since 1945 and prepare material which would be meaningful to a wide American audience and acceptable to Europeans.

The directors are extremely grateful to those who so willingly and whole-heartedly collaborated in this enterprise. The task of preparing extensive case studies was onerous. Much research had to be done and a good deal of time had to be spent in Europe by scholars from the USA who prepared these papers. Under considerable pressure of time European commentators submitted critiques and sent in their own papers. Similarly, the social scientists on both sides of the Atlantic prepared careful studies which went beyond the national reports, but which, nevertheless, took into account the information provided therein.

The seminar itself was successful principally because the comparative educationists knew each other well and were prepared to analyze and reflect on the contents of and interpretations in each others' paper. It was tremendously helpful to have the help of non-comparative educationists from Europe and the USA. They added greatly to the discussions and helped to provide social science frames of reference on which future work can be based.

Due to the postponement of the seminar from 1968 to 1969 several persons who had agreed to participate were unable to do so. Among these may be mentioned Professor Philip J. Idenburg and Professor Mark Blaug, and Professor Basil Bernstein. The directors are most grateful to those participants who subsequently accepted their invitation to participate in the project and the seminar.

The directors wish to thank the officers of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare for recommending the award of a grant which made this project possible. The President Dr. Robert I. White and many faculty members of Kent State University to which the grant was made are to be thanked for the seminar and for providing facilities which enabled the seminar to proceed so smoothly.

G. H. Read
C. A. Anderson
B. Holmes

PART I

PROBLEMS AND METHODS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION-OBJECTIVES

I. Problems of Educational Reform:

Today education is undergoing transformation in most countries of the world, and the desire to reform is felt as keenly in the countries with extensive and high-quality educational systems as in those just moving beyond the recent introduction of formal schools. Policy makers and leaders of public opinion everywhere tend to find their most useful models in western countries. Educational borrowing between developed countries has become more conscious in recent years, and comparative data are used increasingly by laymen as well as scholars to support their reform proposals.

Comparative educationists have, for long, agreed that their study should make a contribution both to a theoretical understanding of education and to its practical reform. During the first half of the nineteenth century, when universal systems of primary or elementary education were being established, some observers of foreign systems thought that selective cultural borrowing was possible. As long as cherished traditions were not harmed, they argued that it would be useful to copy aspects of another national system of education. Comparative studies within Europe and between Europe and North America with this purpose in mind were numerous. Today comparative arguments are frequently used in attempts to induce or inhibit educational change. Recent American examples are the debates which preceded the 1958 National Defense Education Act and the references to the superiority of European education by American critics of American education. In Europe, USA experience has been used by protagonists in the debates about comprehensive education.

In developing countries, too, educationists look to the western world for prototypes and the decision to draw together scholars from Europe and the USA was based on the recognition that since 1945 these countries have had two major models from which to choose in establishing a system of education, frequently under conditions of newly acquired political independence. And from Europe several choices have been available. In the colonial empires, the Europeans transplanted for the most part the system of education they knew best, namely their own, whether or not it was appropriate. So in India and other parts of the British Empire schools which resembled those of England were established. In the French Empire, the schools closely resembled the lycées of France. More recently United States technical assistance in the sphere of education has resulted in the introduction of policies in many developing countries which are similar to those pursued in America. Attempts have been made to transplant unique characteristics of a mass system of education in the United States into countries seeking aid. Often when special U.S. features have been introduced where the system was basically European, serious practical problems have arisen. Indeed, representatives of European countries and of the United States defeat much of the purpose of educational assistance programs by their mutual ignorance of the essential social influences that underlie the educational outcomes in their respective countries.

Consequently, it was thought desirable to examine carefully some of the main aspects of selective European systems of education in order to understand the essential features of education in countries currently in receipt of U.S. technical assistance.

In short, in striving to reform their own system United States specialists in educational research and administration are turning actively to Europe for solutions to educational problems. At the same time European specialists and educational planners are examining American experience more intensely. American experts fail to understand the main features of school systems in former colonial territories. A sound judgment of the potential usefulness of an education innovation borrowed from another society presupposes a comparative analysis of the functional setting of the practice in both the original and the new context.

Failure to meet this requirement has been widespread. American critics have ascribed to European practices a superiority which takes little account of the more selective character of these systems. At the same time elitist features of European school systems have been criticized without an awareness of their socio-economic framework. Again opponents of change in Europe have emphasized the unacceptable aspects of American education without reference to its social setting.

The project concentrated attention on an understanding of European education and an analysis of its determinants of change. It was regarded as essential that analyses of educational reform in Europe should be understandable to American scholars and laymen and at the same time, acceptable to Europeans involved in the processes.

II. Main Purpose of the Project-International Collaboration:

With this problem in mind the directors of the project had as their main objective the development of international and interdisciplinary co-operation with a view to improving the techniques of comparative education research.

Three main needs were identified:

(A) Methods of collecting comparative data should be refined.
(B) Ways of describing a national system of education should be developed which would be understandable to foreigners and acceptable to experts working within the system.
(C) Modes of interpreting data on the basis of social science models should be improved.

To achieve these objectives comparative educationists and social scientists from Eruope and North American were encouraged to engage in interdisciplinary discussions about educational policies in Europe, their determinants and the obstacles standing in the way of reform.

It was felt that progress could not be made except on the basis of international collaboration and this project was a positive first step towards co-operation between the Comparative and International Education Society and the Comparative Education Society of Europe in the study of common problems in education.

III. Specific Objectives of the Project - Research Techniques:

Some more limited aims of the research were:

(A) To test present techniques for comparative educational research and to identify those techniques or topics that can be most suitably used and those for which methodological innovation is most needed.
(B) To identify the principal modes of adjustment for the U.S. and comparable societies in relating education to economic, political, and other social changes.
(C) To demonstrate the feasibility and fruitfulness of strengthening interdisciplinary collaboration for research in comparative education.
(D) To reinforce the present tentative fusion of social science and historical approaches in analyzing education in complex societies.
(E) To improve the fund of source material and data available for graduate training in comparative education and related branches of "social foundations."
(F) To identify projects deserving of priority attention by graduate students and faculty in connection with educational change in the more advanced societies.
(G) To delineate principles of cogency for guiding the borrowing of educational practices with particular reference to ongoing policy discussions and current adaptations in American education.

IV. The Development of Research into European Education:

To achieve the above objectives case studies of European systems of education were planned. There is already a great deal of descriptive information available and the techniques of comparative analysis have advanced rapidly in recent years within comparative education. But it was felt that much of the information about European education which has been gathered since the war is casual, piecemeal, and non-professional. Reports on the dramatic transformation of European economics and the reforms in education since the war tend to appear with virtually no analysis of their interconnection. First under the slogan of "democratization of education" and then under the guise of "educational planning" proposals for fundamental change in educational systems especially at the secondary level have multiplied in Europe. Unfortunately, most of the reports prepared by American observers have been mainly reportorial and have lacked interpretation of change.

An improved understanding of the determinants of European education, the differences between system and their relative strengths and weaknesses will depend upon research and the wide dissemination of its findings. In particular:

(A) The careful collection of strictly comparable data is needed.

(B) American scholars need to conduct vigorous, cross-cultural delineation and analysis of the more advanced educational systems of Europe in their cultural settings, drawing upon the skills of scholars both in the social sciences and in comparative education.

(C) Recent changes and proposed reforms in these European systems need to be assessed in relation to both manifest and latent functions of education in the respective countries and the assumptions underlying the proposals.

(D) Using comparison of the several educational systems, the probable outcomes in the different countries require assessment, with special attention to the possibility of obtaining equivalent results from seemingly different policies and to the appearance of unanticipated outcomes.

(E) The documentary sources available for "foundations" courses in universities and teachers colleges need to be improved by more complete and technically more sophisticated use of comparative techniques for the analysis of European systems.

This project was designed to reveal some of the difficulties associated with research into European education, to stimulate rigorous enquiries, and to improve the materials available for expanding training programs, especially in the United States. In order to develop this work, it is important to expand the number of American younger scholars with competence for such studies, meanwhile capitalizing on the special knowledge of those with firsthand experience of European systems.

SUMMARY

1. A number of practical and theoretical problems in the field of comparative education stimulated this research project.

2. Educational reform leads to a search for policies and these are often borrowed uncritically from other countries with unanticipated results. One aim of the project was to re-examine some of the techniques of cultural borrowing and highlight its dangers.

3. The widespread and uncritical use of comparative arguments in the tactics of reform demands improved methods of research in comparative education and a wide dissemination of research findings. Another aim of the project was to strengthen modes of analyzing and interpreting well-known educational data drawn from a number of countries with common traditions and facing similar problems.

4. International collaboration was regarded as essential if case studies were to be prepared which would be mutually understandable and acceptable.

5. Interdisciplinary collaboration was regarded as essential in order to improve modes of interpreting the determinants of educational change.

6. Selected European countries were held to offer the most useful starting points on which to base international and interdisciplinary research. Data were available and through the Comparative Education Societies on both sides of the Atlantic research workers could effectively be brought together.

CHAPTER II

METHODS AND ORGANIZATION

In preparing research proposals the directors took into account that:

(a) there were various approaches to the study of comparative education and any attempt to gear the project to any one of these might lead to fruitless debates about methodology;
(b) world and regional organizations e.g. UNESCO, OECD, have over the years collected and published many comparative statistics in education and it was therefore thought unwise to expect participants to collect new empirical data;
(c) national agencies e.g. ministries of education and publications, made possible the preparation of case studies without requiring team members to collect original data through questionnaires, etc; and
(d) traditional modes of interpretation in comparative education were sufficiently well-known to invite research workers from appropriate disciplines to concentrate their attention on detailed analyses of present-day rather than historical influences on educational policy.

In drawing up a framework which would allow for flexibility and creativeness the directors had in mind particularly the needs of the development of Comparative Education in the USA.

A distinctive feature of educational research and graduate training in the United States has been the extent to which the resources of the social sciences have been used. In comparative education this has been increasingly the case both in the USA and in Europe. This research tradition was built into the procedures for this research project and the underlying studies, with the object of developing improved models for interpreting educational data.

I. Theoretical Framework of the Seminar:

In designing working outlines on the basis of which case studies could be prepared it was decided to limit the scope of the investigation and to analyze the problems of reform within selected national contexts.

(A) Scope

Two limitations were placed on the scope of the study:

(1) the project did not concern itself with all aspects of European education. Secondary education was the focus of attention since this is the level or stage of education which many critics of American practice regard as most defective and in need of an injection of European practices. At the same time, as secondary education in Europe expands, familiar problems of balancing quantity with quality are emerging, and the efforts to contend with those difficulties while preserving intellectual traditions will generate innovations deserving careful cross-cultural scrutiny.

(2) A limited number of European countries were dealt with that have common historical roots and among which educational borrowing has gone on steadily. The countries, concentrated in Northwest Europe, were England, Sweden, France and Germany.

(B) Problem Analysis

One of the formidable tasks in studying educational reform is to identify the specific "problem" that gives rise to proposals for change. On the one hand many unplanned changes occur, the outcomes of which are not anticipated. On the other hand definite plans commonly fail to take root. Too often these are unrelated to any socio-economic or political maladjustment and change, consequently national policies for education may reflect reactions to a misunderstood situation and then inevitably give rise to unanticipated (and frequently undesired) outcomes.

One of the basic purposes of the project was, therefore, to improve the diagnostic power of comparative education, to establish procedures for identifying common "problems" and allow for the evaluation of specific proposals for change as appropriate or inappropriate responses. This demands techniques for developing definite indices of fundamental social changes and for refining methods of establishing functional relationships between these and educational changes.

It was an assumption of this project that systematic comparative studies of social change, the maladjustments it creates, and the responses to them made by different countries would contribute to a theoretical understanding of education and provide guidelines to American policies.

Certain other assumptions were made, namely that problems arise:

(1) when established connections between theory and practice (or social norms and institutions) are disturbed;
(2) when modes of normative re-adjustment have not been found e.g. when changes in the climate of political opinion are not accompanied by appropriate new educational norms (statements of what ought to be the case);
(3) when institutional responses to new and accepted policies are inadequate e.g. when curriculum reform lags behind a policy of modernization;
(4) when other socio-economic institutions fail to assume educational functions e.g. when industry is unwilling to shoulder the burden of manpower training at certain levels.

(C) Contextual Backgrounds

Common problems have to be seen in the light of different socio-economic and political backgrounds if proposed educational solutions are to be evaluated. Some limitation on the contextual variables was necessary. The countries chosen for this venture all shared a common heritage. They possessed numerous shared norms and institutions. All are "liberal" democracies. Their levels of economic development and industrialization are similar. Their educational systems resemble each other and over the years, in spite of national differences, an interchange of theory and practice has occurred.

Yet significantly, the ways in which these countries and the USA deal with educational problems differ notably:

(1) in the ways in which political consensus is reached;
(2) in how resources are allocated to education, how these resources are drawn from the flow of national income and how the costs of financing education are shared among groups in society;
(3) in the extent of educational research and the ways in which it is mobilized and brought into decision making processes.

From an analysis of identifiable issues in the reform of education, in the light of different national backgrounds it was hoped that some patterns of educational response would be discerned. It was not assumed that even in broadly similar societies within the same cultural area these patterns would be the same. Nevertheless, it was hoped that general conclusions could be reached regarding the major obstacles to reform and the political processes associated with the formulation, adoption and implementation of new policies. Success in these endeavors depend upon the improvement in the techniques of comparative analysis and data collection.

II. Membership of the Projects-Four Teams of Scholars:

It was regarded as necessary to the achievement of these objectives that there should be international and interdisciplinary collaboration. Four reseurach teams were therefore selected.

Teams A and B were to conduct the studies in Europe while teams C and D would provide analytical commentaries based on social science disciplines. Team A was made up of comparative education specialists from the United States and Canada and Team B was made up of counter parts from European countries. For example, a specialist on French education was paired with a French colleague. Team C included North American economists, political scientists, and so on, while Team D included corresponding specialists from Europe, with no special reference to a particular country. The members of C and D were instructed to analyze, interpret, and comment on the detailed materials assembled by A and B.

Each of these individual participants was selected for demonstrated competence in research and previous work in the general area of concern.

Diagram

Team A	Team B	Team C	Team D
North Americans Comparative Educationists	Europeans Comparative Educationists	North American Social Scientists	European Social Scientists

Cross-cultural comparative description and analysis of reforms in European Education

Cross-cultural description and analysis of the determinants and consequences of educational reforms in Europe

Cross-cultural inter-disciplinary analysis of European educational reform, evaluation of research achieved, projected needs, and guidelines for future research.

III. Organization of Work:

(A) Phase 1: Terms and Framework of Research

The three directors met in January 1966 to consolidate the tentative plans and nominate participants to the board of consultants with assistance from the executive boards of the American and European societies. Tentative agenda for research was worked out for discussion with the teams.

(B) Phase 2: Collection of Data

During 1967 the members of Teams A and B were to carry out in their designated countries the field work and prepare preliminary reports. This was to yield national studies, each the joint work of one pair of investigators. All of these reports (in preliminary version) were to be given to the members of Teams C and D, each pair of whom (e.g. economists) were to prepare an analysis and interpretation of the whole group of papers, drawing upon the conceptual schemes of their disciplines and other materials about the countries. These commentaries and the original reports on each country were to be circulated in the spring of 1968 to the whole group of participants, together with selected other individuals.

(C) Phase 3: The Seminar
During the autumn of 1968 a seminar was to convene for one week in the USA. The aim of the seminar was to criticize the draft reports from both substantive and methodological points of view. Assessment of their utility as models for other research, and particularly as source materials for graduate programs, was to receive special attention. Suggestions for revision of individual reports were to be given. A precis of the seminar discussions was to be prepared. This was postponed until August 1969.

(D) Phase 4: The Report
On the basis of the criticisms and discussions, the draft reports were to be revised for publication. This printed report would include annotations for the particular use of three groups:
(1) graduate students using the materials in seminars; (2) teachers and administrators wishing to use the volume as a guide to educational tours in Europe, and (3) individuals particularly interested in the policy implications of the country studies. Other groups who will find the volume useful are registrars, admissions officers, and faculty concerned with interchange of students.

IV. Basic Frameworks for Collecting Data:

While careful comparative studies need a common framework to facilitate the collection of comparable data from selected countries, it was recognized that rigorous comparability of information might not be possible. It was decided that each of the national reports should provide illuminating interpretations and should be an aesthetic whole. Since identical data were not asked for, the case studies authors were expected to select data rather freely and follow lines of interpretation appropriate to national changes and the forces which have influenced them since 1945. Nevertheless, guidelines were prepared to ensure that the structure of research was reasonably tight.

In line with this policy, team members were not expected to seek out new facts and information. Their attention was directed to the publications of UNESCO, OECD, the Council of Europe and other published national reports. The World Year Book of Education and three periodicals, Comparative Education (England), Comparative Education Review (United States) and the International Review of Education (UNESCO).

From data collected over a period of twenty years, it was hoped that the dynamics of reform movements in Europe could be better understood. Indices were suggested on the basis of which changes in the educational sector and in the infra-structure of national systems would be examined. Correlations between educational and political, economic, social class and demographic changes were to be examined. Periods of five years 1945-50, 1955-60 and 1960-65 were suggested as useful divisions for the basis of organizing material. The following guide to participants was circulated prior to the collection and analysis of data.

(A) Educational Data Framework
Areas of educational change: Careful comparative studies require a frame of reference to ensure that comparable data are collected. Under each of the following categories indices should be ascribed. They may be statistical or nonstatistical.

(1) Personnel involved
Pupils
a. Total enrollments in secondary schools, however defined.

b. Analysis of enrollments into type of second stage school attended.
c. Proportion of age cohorts in various types of school.
d. Proportion of pupils remaining in attendance up to the age of compulsory attendance.
e. Proportion of pupils remaining after the age of compulsory attendance, by the type of school.

Teachers

a. Total number of teachers employed in schools at the second stage.
b. Analysis of teaching personnel by type of school.
c. Analysis of teacher qualifications and provisions for in-service and further training.
d. Teachers' salary scales, pension rights and conditions of employment.

(2) School Organization

External

a. Types of schools found at second stage of education, e.g. academic, vocational, comprehensive and functional relations between them.
b. Principles of control and administration.

Internal

a. Movement of pupils through school system.
b. Differentiation of pupils into streams, lines, sets. Basis for such differentiation.

Curriculum

a. Degree of specialization in various school types.
b. Basic curriculum pattern and choice opportunities.
c. Vocational bias--aesthetic elements--PE.
d. New curricula emphasizing new material or the reorganization of material, e.g., science, maths.

(4) Methods of Teaching

a. General trends towards activity methods as exemplified in the classes nouvelles movement in France. Description and analysis of proposals.

b. Proposals in selected subject or subject areas, e.g., modern languages, science.

(5) New Media

a. Types of new media available.

b. Extent of introduction of new media, experiments and assessment of effectiveness.

(6) Examination Systems

Organization

a. Types of examination available, functional relationship with various types of school.

b. Administration of examinations.

c. Functional relationships of examination certificates, diplomas, etc., with higher education, the bureaucracy, industry, and commerce.

Statistics

a. Total entries to various kinds of examinations and proportion of pupils entering.

b. Pass rates.

c. Examination bias--academic/vocational-technical: science/humanities; physics/biology: classics/modern language.

d. Numbers of proportion of age cohorts entering universities and other institutions of higher learning, by type of institution and appropriate examination.

(B) Mechanics of Educational Change

Under this section some attempt should be made to assess public opinion polls, newspaper articles and letters to the editor should provide needed data. It is also hoped that the mechanics of education under various national agencies will be analyzed.

(1) Public Opinion
Some assessment should be made of the climate of opinion in the country studies.

(2) Political Agencies
(a) Party political manifestos should be noted. (b) Basic legislation or debates prior to unsuccessful legislation should be described.

(3) Advisory Committees
A description and analysis of reports prepared prior to legislation should be given, e.g., Crowther, Newsom in U.K., Langevin-Wallon in France, Royal Commissions in Sweden.

(4) Bureaucracies
Types of official (nonlegislative) action taken regarding secondary schools should be described and significant memoranda, decrees, etc., noted.

(5) Professional Groups
The role of professional organizations in the formulation of policy regarding secondary education should be described and assessed. Teachers' union, university departments of education, and colleges of education offer examples of professional influence. Some indication of research findings used in formulating policy should be given.

(C) Interpretative Framework:
Socio-economic and political determinants of change: An attempt should be made to relate the educational changes described to noneducational social change. The intention is to document these changes prior to interpreting the processes of change in the various societies. There is no suggestion that any one factor, e.g., political, economic or social class should be regarded as the most important determinant of educational change. Rather each country's evolving educa-

tional policy should be interpreted on the basis of the unique conditions prevailing therein. In each area the assessment of Public Opinion through polls, etc., is regarded as very important.

Indices of change: The establishment of some indices of change is desirable from a comparative viewpoint. Spheres in which change may influence educational policy may be classified as:

(1) The demographic sphere.
(2) The political sphere.
(3) The economic sector.
(4) The social class structure.

(1) Demographic Data

Basic information should be readily available on:

a. Birth rates
b. Infant mortality rates
c. Death rates
d. Population increases and rates
e. Proportion of population of school age.
f. Increases in school age populations by level of education.

The periods at which demographic changes exerted most pressure at certain levels of education are well known but should be described in relation to changing educational policies designed to cope with them.

Movements of population within a country should be described and analyzed in relation to educational planning and policy, particularly insofar as they involved consolidation, the closing of schools and the building of new ones.

A population map for 1945 and for 1965 for each country would be useful particularly if school maps for the same dates are available.

(2) Political Forces

Election campaigns and changes in government offer fairly obvious points of interest in any assessment of political influence in education. It is desirable that the educational policies of political parties should be described and analyzed by reference to their manifestos prior to an election, the extent to which political policy became central to an election campaign and the policies of governments in office. The latter can be examined through legislative proposals, bills, directives, decrees, memoranda, etc.

(3) Economic Forces

Changing consumption, investment and manpower patterns should be studied. Economic indicators for Europe have been established by OECD.

a. Consumption patterns. An excellent survey of European Consumption patterns is provided in the Readers' Digest report, The European Common Market and Britain, Basic Report, a marketing survey, published by Readers' Digest, Pleasantville, New York.

b. Investment patterns. Data relating to the percentages of gross national produce invested in education and other services should be considered.

c. Manpower patterns. Shortages should be analyzed in relation to age of compulsory schooling and job opportunities for classes of school leavers. Functional relations between secondary school types and occupation should be analyzed so that the changing skills needed can be assessed.

(4) Social Class Forces

Rising levels of aspiration among working class children should be described by reference to published findings.

Social welfare policy in response to rising expectations should be explained and the outcome should be indicated by reference to crude figures of incomes and the redistribution of them. Tax policies should be mentioned.

The consequences of these policies in education should be described by reference to the extensive literature on educational opportunities and social class background, investment policies in certain types of secondary school rather than others. The increased access to prestige institutions by children from working class homes. The continued advantages available to middle-class parents and their children.

(D) Educational Policy Making, Structural Reform and Reorganization, and Curriculum Reform:
For the purposes of their final reports, participants were invited to organize their data and discussions around three themes:

(1) Educational policy making: Some analysis should be made of the three countries of the national procedures utilized in securing reforms in education. The agencies responsible for aspects of policy formulation and adoption should be described and the extent of their authority should be detailed. Some of the practical difficulties associated with the implementation of accepted policies for effecting change should be examined. Reference should be made to the role of the political parties, professional associations, the bureaucracy, research organizations, etc.

(2) Structural reform and reorganization: The specific changes and proposals to reorganize secondary education in each of the three countries should be outlined. References should be made to the origin of these plans, to the groups supporting them, and to the opponents of them. Theoretical justification

for structural change should be given and the institutional innovations involved described. Some assessment of the effectiveness of the changes and the research that went into the formulation of policy and into the evaluation of the outcomes of reform should be attempted.

(3) Curriculum reform: Curriculum theory or the philosophical basis of curriculum reform and reorganization of subject content should be given. To what extent does the change break new ground, e.g. in epistemological and educational terms? What criteria is used for selection from among various traditional subjects? To what extent do the new criteria and theories determine new subjects, organizations, teaching methods, evaluation techniques, etc? What should constitute the central or common core?

SUMMARY

1. The structure of the research was designed to facilitate international and interdisciplinary collaboration.
2. Europeans and Americans were involved.
3. Comparative Educationists and other social scientists were invited to participate.
4. The framework provided was sufficiently flexible to accommodate differences of approach and sufficiently rigorous to ensure depth of analysis.
5. Guidelines on the basis of which published data could be collected were provided.
6. Modes of interpretation were suggested.
7. The main headings under which case study data should be brought together were developed as the work progressed.

PART II

ANALYSIS OF REFORMS IN POSTWAR EUROPEAN SECONDARY EDUCATION

CHAPTER III

THE BACKGROUND TO EUROPEAN EDUCATIONAL REFORM AND MAJOR TRENDS

It may be assumed that World War II marked a turning point in European affairs. Dramatic changes occurred in the political arena. The victorious allies were soon faced with the problems of liquidating their colonial empires. All the nations of Europe involved in the war had to repair serious damage to their economies brought about by the destruction of plant, the loss of men, the dissipation of capital. At the same time the aspirations of people had been raised. To the political rights written into the new constitutions prepared in some countries were added those which found expression in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. Among these was the right to education.

It is hardly surprising that in the sphere of education, policies which had been advocated for some time were pressed with more vigor. Yet, at the same time, not unnaturally political and economic issues received priority and at least in the United Kingdom, the provision of national health services attracted more resources than education. Nevertheless, it is important to understand that post-war reform policies were based on pre-war and wartime proposals in France and England. German policy after the war has to be contrasted with Nazi policies. Sweden's position as a neutral country was unique among the systems studied.

I. The Background to Reform Policies:

Professor J. A. Lauwerys of the University of London, who worked closely with the allied ministers of education during the war, sketched in the background to post-war educational reform in Europe.

Between the wars in England, France and Germany, the slogan "secondary education for all" had been advanced in support of some sort of common or comprehensive secondary school. Official discussions took place and modest reforms were made in the 1920's. The financial crisis of

1929, massive unemployment in the 1930's and the rise of Hitler diverted attention from education although ideological discussions continued.

The war caused an enormous disruption of schooling. In England the mass evacuation of the young from the cities to the countryside was a terrible affair. In France, many young children lost fathers deported to Germany or lived in an atmosphere of suspicion and resistance to the occupying forces. In Germany, too, before the war's end, normal life was virtually eliminated. Everywhere the destruction of school buildings and the shortage of teachers placed great strains on the system of education. Sweden remained neutral, and consequently did not suffer these ravages of war.

Teachers and educationists in all the countries occupied by the Nazis and their allies strongly supported Resistance movements and tried to protect their pupils from bad influences. In London, "Governments-in-Exile" set up study groups which prepared laws and acts aiming at reconstruction after victory and liberation. Their schemes were all influenced by the discussions going on in England. The main features included raising the school-leaving age, extending facilities for secondary education to serve all sections of the population, developing technical education and opening the doors of universities to the children of the working classes.

The Conference of Allied Ministers of Education collected a great many books and periodicals which when distributed after the war helped to restore normal working conditions. It also embarked on an international history of the world and asked Lauwerys to direct an enquiry into the "Special Educational Problems of Liberated Countries," including the physical and mental health of children, the effect of war on their moral values, the education of the children who had collaborated with the Nazis, and the situation of Jewish children who returned from the concentration camps. The Ministers also discussed the establishment of an international organization which would advise teachers, foster democratic ideals and fight the causes of war. With support from the U.S. President and the Department of State, American representatives came to London in 1944. An

International Conference was held in 1945 and UNESCO was founded to begin its real work in 1946.

Lauwerys expressed amazement at the resilience European children and teachers showed. They were supported by an enlightened population in most countries. The first few years of peace was a time of idealism. The plans of the interwar years were reviewed. The schools were to be the agents of democracy and peace. Education at the secondary and higher levels would be available to all regardless of social class origin. In England, the 1944 Education Act created a new framework for development. In France, the Langevin-Wallon commission was putting forward breathtakingly bold and ambitious proposals. In Germany and Italy, allied experts were helping teachers and administrators to modernize and democratize the content of courses and the methods of teaching. Policies formulated during the war period and shortly after it remain the basis of current reform proposals but progress has been slow.

Secondary education for all involved a reorganization of the second stage of education. The traditional differentiated school type structure came under attack. Questions asked included:

(a) How are children to be allocated to the various types of institutions at the second level?
(b) Does the charging of fees contradict the ideal of equality of opportunity?
(c) Does selection involve social selection?
(d) Can examinations and psychological tests be devised to separate, on a scientific basis, those qualified by nature to profit from a university education?
(e) Do qualitative differences really exist?

By the end of the 1940's the social criterion of selection by the monetary test had almost everywhere been abandoned. By 1969 faith had been lost in the possibility that selection at the age of about eleven would be made justly and fairly. The defenders of the intellectually selective academic secondary school were everywhere fighting a losing battle although their rearguard actions were frequently sharp and vigorous.

Lauwerys predicted that by 1980 or 1990 there would be some kind of common or comprehensive middle school (or junior high school) in many countries of Europe. The structure of the school systems for young people between the ages of fifteen and nineteen, however, is more difficult to predict.

The situation in Europe has been complicated by the education explosions. Features of those are:

(a) Many more children are being born each year and survive.
(b) Growing prosperity means that parents do not rely on the earnings of young people between 14 and 18 years of age who now stay on at school.
(c) The structure of industry and commerce has changed to make necessary for an increasingly large percentage of the working force a complete secondary education.
(d) In many countries the number of pupils over sixteen years of age being prepared for university or college doubles every six or seven years.
(e) Teachers with university qualifications are needed in great numbers.
(f) The young people who crowd into schools are no longer either a social or intellectual elite and the traditional curriculum is no longer suited to the needs of most of them.
(g) Thus far curriculum reform has centered on mathematics, science and modern languages.

At the third level (tertiary or higher education) some common problems and trends can be discerned.

(a) The elitist features of higher education are changing.
(b) Students are recruited from all strata of society.
(c) The sharply differentiated structure is breaking down and all third level institutions are being integrated into national systems.
(d) New universities are being established to deal with the enormous increase in student numbers.
(e) A greater variety of courses is being offered.

(f) A section of higher education separate from the universities and more under government control is being built up.

Questions of policy abound:

(a) Should expansion go on unchecked?
(b) Can universities grow to 50,000 or even 100,000 students?
(c) What forms of administration are now acceptable?
(d) Should students and junior staff participate in decision making?
(e) How can research and teaching be integrated?
(f) How far should faculty members be allowed to engage in outside activities?
(g) How can academic freedom be preserved when the State meets so many expenses?
(h) Should students be helped by grants or loans?

These questions, Lauwerys maintained, have to be answered in a framework which includes the need for economy and efficiency and an international dimension which makes educational policy an increasingly important issue in domestic and international politics.

II. Development Trends in Secondary Education:

Professor Saul Robinsohn of Berlin presented an analysis of post-war trends in Europe under the following headings:

(A) A further analysis of trends.
(B) Alternatives of organization.
(C) A shift of focus to the curriculum.
(D) The dialectics of reform arguments.
(E) Rationalizing decisions through research.
(F) The process of political conversion.

(A) Trend Analysis:

Robinsohn suggested that one of the shortcomings of many global interpretations of postwar developments was that short range problems of specific educational institutions were neglected and the prospects of the long range development of educational goals, content and strategies were neglected. Only detailed and differentiated critical analysis can repair these omissions.

The short-comings of many "trend" analyses carried out by international and ad-hoc groups are bound up with a certain deterministic view of educational development. They tend to suppose that structural changes in education are "necessary" responses to "impelling" demographic, economic, social and political forces.

In fact, it has proved impossible to establish cogent relationships between demographic explosions, manpower needs and specific forms of educational organization. The dialectics of elitism versus egalitarianism, democratization versus nationalization, selective versus non-selective, contribute to a correct interpretation of future developments.

On the basis of detailed and differential analysis structural changes in education should be seen in the light not only of socio-political and economic forces, but also against a background of ideology, cultural traditions and educational practices. At the same time the function of educational institutions as instruments of attaining economic, social and political objective depend upon a spectrum of "determinants" and a wide and variable range of potential educational responses to such socio-economic challenges is possible.

Robinsohn undertook to interpret the issues of differentiation and reform in European secondary education. By differentiation is meant the special institutions of an educational system which aim at the acquisition of certain qualifications by promoting certain abilities. For the purposes of analyses, a continuous model may be assumed. At one end is a vertically organized multipartite system of secondary education. At the other end is a common organization in which a degree of attention is given to individual needs and potentialities.

By reform, Robinsohn meant a significant move on this scale in one direction or the other. Examples from Western and Eastern Europe show that change can be either from dual or tripartite forms of organization or from unitary systems. But from one point of reference, "reform" means a change towards a differentiated comprehensive school organization.

(B) Alternatives of Organization

Between the east and west there is some kind of convergence towards this form of organization. A plurality of motives has led to a variety of solutions some of which are clearly temporary. Some of these motives and corresponding choices are:

(1) Does the need to prepare an ever-growing section of the working population for tertiary occupations mean "secondary education for all?"
(2) Does the need for skilled and mobile technical labor lead to the extension of middle school education and to a combination of extended elementary education with industrial training?
(3) How far does initiation into the world of science and technology coincide with a general education?
(4) Do the demands for personal emancipation and socio-political participation make for a complete common cycle of secondary education or is there still need for an exclusive type of secondary school?
(5) Or is the price in terms of social and individual wastage so high that these schools for highly gifted students should be abolished?
(6) Have selection procedures improved enough to be fair and reliable?

The answers given in European practice are more complex than some trend reports suggest. One common feature, however, is prolongation. By 1975 in most countries in Europe compulsory education will have reached at least 10 years or 16 years of age. Prolongation is bound up with a realization that intellectual awareness and social participation must be fostered even at the most elementary stage. Can existing institutions provide this education or are new ones needed? In spite of industrial pressure it seems likely that there will be a merging of middle school types. There is no indication yet that the same will happen at the first years of the academic secondary school. The middle school populations have grown in all countries. The developments in Germany, France and England vary somewhat but the system of orientation favored by the French is more nominal than real and in England the myth of "parity of esteem" between middle school types has broken down. In Sweden, the dual system has been abolished. The German Democratic Republic has an incomplete Oberschule of 10 years duration. The USSR model puts the general rise in the educational level of the population before considerations of differentiated promotion. It would not be surprising, however, to see some convergence of these various models.

The upper secondary school organization has two models from which to choose. There is a tendency to designate one school type as "university preparatory." The other model is of an upper secondary school which is pre-university, terminal and academic in the wider sense, preparing students for all forms of further and higher education.

Robinsohn predicted that in quite a few countries two of more systems will probably exist side by side for some time. There will be a move to a gradually differentiated "groundschool" up to the age of 15-16 and more sharply vertically differentiated institutions of upper-secondary education in varying combinations of general, pre-professional and pre-vocational elements.

(C) A Shift of Focus-Curriculum

Before looking more closely at reform debates, Robinsohn turned to the curriculum as a genuine and important facet of reform discourse. Relevant points were:

(1) Where, as in Sweden, structural reform has moved a long way towards comprehensive schools, research into appropriate curriculum differentiation is needed. The University of Göteborg project illustrates this need.

(2) That questions of differentiation and the provision of a common education are questions of curriculum has been recognized in east and west European countries.

(3) The demand for a common and distinctly professional education for all teachers is one result of the need to enrich the primary school curriculum in foreign languages and mathematics.

(4) The problem of compensatory education has occupied the minds of European educational reformers. Professor Robinsohn reviewed the arguments which had been used in reform movements and contrasted the manpower efficiency with the democratization "equal rights" claims. He maintained that direct relationships between educational procedures and economic effects had been difficult to establish. Short, middle-range and long-term views of manpower needs could well lead to quite different educational proposals, namely, apprenticeship training, industrial training and re-training and prolonged general secondary education respectively. Only against the rising expectations of parents and children can the demographic changes induce structural reform. Certainly the demands for social justice and equality and the deprecation of wastage have brought into the center of critical debate the question of selection. But a system, which is to be economically efficient, which needs to produce "excellence" must, some argue, be selective. Consequently, the harmonization of the manpower and social justice motives have been almost impossible. This explains the tos and fros of educational enactments in the German Democratic Republic and the USSR.

(D) Dialectics of Reform Arguments

Robinsohn asked whether any particular arguments (and the facts behind them) or combination of arguments could be said to have influenced educational reform in Europe. "Manpower" and "equal rights" arguments have been frequently juxtaposed. At another level the relative claims of "excellence" and "equality" have been used. Several hypotheses were proposed, namely:

(1) Economic arguments in an educational context are not purely economic but rather economically relevant;
(2) The economic "nationality" argument is neither universal nor decisive but has to be weighed against other goals;
(3) Direct relationships between specific educational procedures and certain economic effects are difficult to prove, and
(4) Generally, it is in combination with other arguments that economic considerations become effective.

Similarly demographic pressures need to be associated with new and raised educational aspirations before dysfunctionality occurs giving rise to the need for adjustment.

The relative strengths - or tos and fros - of the manpower and socio-political arguments can be discerned in the emphasis in reform proposals made in the various countries by interested groups.

(E) Rationalizing Decisions Through Research

Robinsohn maintained that there are three ideal types of relationship between science and political decision, namely:

(1) The technocratic model -- research arrives at cogent results and there remains no political choice;

(2) The decisionist model - whatever research has to say the politician remains entirely free to make his decision;
(3) The pragmatic relationship of participation.

Both in the east and west enlightenment is sought from researchers and empirical evidence has softened pre-conceived ideologies and made the consideration of educational alternatives more objective. Nevertheless, in Sweden where the influence of research has been particularly noticeable, the disclaimer of any direct influence on decision making by researchers is the more pronounced. Even so in Sweden the partnership between the political bodies, the bureaucracy and research was close.

In England some form of institutionalized interaction between public interest, research and policy shaping has proved to be highly relevant to the effectiveness of the scientists' work. In this respect the work of the National Foundation for Educational Research, the Schools' Council, Commissions and critical sociologists may be mentioned.

In the German Democratic Republic there has been a gradual acceptance of empirical research especially in educational psychology and in the economics of education. The close connection between the learned societies and a bureaucratic administration should however be noted.

(F) The Process of "Political Conversion"

Finally, Robinsohn suggested that, England apart, clues to an understanding of the dynamics of reform decisions in education should be sought in certain ideas of cultural transmission which are commonly held in Europe. The centralized or decentralized forms of control make less difference to the effecting of innovation than the ways in which conserving or innovating impulses make themselves felt. Comparative studies of these processes show

how consensus was reached in England and in Sweden in contrasting ways. The pattern of forces in Federal Republic of Germany was again somewhat different, and Robinsohn asked whether pressure from various parts of public opinion and from a growing body of academic opinion and research may well allow for reform without the establishment of a central authority.

While consensus usually includes compromise, the later is no substitute for the former as the case of France indicates. In 1959 and later steps to implement reform were a compromise between the earlier reformers and a coalition between church, academic institutions, the bureaucracy, political parties and professional associations. This fact gave the proposals neither coherence nor a chance of genuine success.

Summary

1. It seems that the Second World War and subsequent occupation resulted in an intensification of public discussion about social issues and education.
2. The fact that allied ministers of education in London discussed, and prepared for, the reconstruction of education in their countries helps to account for the similarity of reform proposals.
3. The issues of social justice turn on selection procedures in traditionally elitist systems of education.
4. Manpower needs suggest somewhat different forms of organization from those advanced on socio-economic grounds.
5. Developments cannot be explained by establishing casual relationships between one factor and educational policy. Choices are open to those who formulate, adopt and implement policy. The decisions reached have to be seen against a background of national traditions, ideology and existing educational practices. Consequently, the

pattern of arguments used to promote or inhibit reform should be studied and the processes by which political consensus is reached including the role of research should be examined in detail.

6. Structural reform received priority of attention in the immediate postwar period. On a continuous model from highly differentiated school types to unitary comprehensive systems there may be a convergence in Western and Eastern Europe to differentiate within a comprehensive "middle" school and to a considerable degree of differentiation of school types at the second stage of secondary education.

7. As movement towards this kind of structure occurs the pressing need to reform curricula becomes apparent. The lack of realistic curriculum theories is very evident.

CHAPTER IV

THE DIFFERENTIAL ANALYSIS OF EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS AND THEIR INFRA-STRUCTURES

While the main trends in European educational change at the secondary level can be relatively easily described more detailed analyses of aspects of reform are needed. Moreover, a fuller understanding of the determinants of change demands a careful breakdown of the infra-structure into its component aspects.

When these qualitative analyses have been made quantitative correlations can be attempted. The technical problems and dangers of establishing one to one relationships are important particularly in comparative studies.

In this chapter, a breakdown is made by Dr. Detlef Glowka from the Max Planck Institute in Berlin, of the structure of secondary education in terms of differentiation and functional relationships which may well exist. Dr. Helga Thomas from the Max Planck Institute of Berlin, discusses criteria for selecting socio-economic data in the study of education's relationships with society. Professor C. Arnold Anderson, of the University of Chicago, in pressing the need for numerical data, warns of the dangers of their uncritical application.

I. The Differentiation of School Systems

Glowka asserted that in the analysis of school systems differentiation is always crucial. Nearly all problems of secondary education are connected with differentiation e.g., structural organization and the different methods of selection, the relations between general and vocational educational institutions, the problems of curriculum, teaching methods, teacher training, school building and a wide range of problems concerning the social composition of student enrollments. O.E.C.D. data show that comprehensive school forms are spreading; even in education systems, organized up to now on the basis of strictly separated school-types, transfer possibilities have been introduced during recent years. Full-time upper secondary education is rapidly increasing. Social disadvantage in school enrollment has been reduced but not eliminated. Extended participation in upper secondary education is in some cases connected with an increased drop-out rate but that is not necessarily the rule.

The interdependence of the above-mentioned trends remains unexplained. For example, does a comprehensive school system create a higher participation and a lower drop-out rate than a system differentiated by types? Or in a broader sense, what kinds of problems are solved more successfully by one or another type of school system?

To assess various forms of differentiation in this way, a functional concept of differentiation is needed.

(a) The Functions of Differentiation: At one end of a scale of differentiating institutions within school systems there is individualized teaching; at the other end a structure according to school types. The functions of such institutions are not immediately obvious; acclaimed function and the real function are often two different things. The real function is disclosed by those effects which were not explicitly intended, as for instance the far reaching limitation of later educational opportunities at the early age of ten years in the German school system.

The main forms of differentiation in the Western European school systems stem from the 19th Century when the structure of education according to strictly separated types ensured the self-perpetuation of social strata. The selective school fostered a curriculum and a value system, which corresponded to the interests of a small upper class. The German Gymnasium, the English Grammar school, the French Lycée evolved from this tradition. Obviously structuring according to types can also take over other functions.

Another function of differentiation today relates to the division of labor. When general education is complete, differentiation channels students in accordance with manpower requirements. If, in the division of labor every socially useful professional activity is considered to be of equal value, then a differentiated school system may be said as in England, to offer "parity of esteem." As general education is prolonged preparation of students for, and channeling them into, different professions becomes more urgent. The complete comprehensiveness of the school is not practical beyond a certain grade - as was found in the USSR. Thus far, differentiation is orientated toward the professions, for example, the classical humanities, social studies, technical and commercial studies, teacher training, etc. From this viewpoint differentiation raises for education the question of how, when and with what intensity should general education take into consideration the requirements of professional life?

A third function of differentiation relates to the individuality of pupils. Here differentiation is regarded as a way of promoting the students' individual abilities. This approach is not bound to norms which measure the value of personality according to usefulness in a technical world. Individual differences in the learning process are a sound basis for demands for differentiated teaching and education. When one demonstrates these three functions in a specific case, it should be possible to discover the emphasis placed upon this or the other main functions of differentiation. It is easier to identify these three approaches in discussions about differentiation than to demonstrate their functioning in reality.

(b) The Effects of Differentiation: Clear criteria to show the effects of differentiation are lacking. Possible criteria are:

1. Many studies reveal the connections between differentiation and social stratification. Several questions remain unanswered. For

example, how far can education contribute to the reduction of social disparities? Which forms of differentiation are more or less suited to this purpose? When can a school system be considered satisfactory in view of its social discriminating and equalizing effects?

2. As for manpower, differentiation can be considered to function adequately when it supplies the labor market with sufficient manpower and does not produce an abundance. But this relationship is complicated by two factors:

   a) The requirements of the labor market are very flexible and the changes in them depend, among other things, on the supply of qualified manpower.

   b) The supply of educational opportunities is not only based on the demands of the labor market but also on social demand.

   So, it remains uncertain whether a concrete system of differentiation is functioning adequately or whether it needs correction.

3. As far as the third function of differentiation is concerned, it can best be demonstrated negatively. If differentiation really promotes students' attitudes and dispositions, it still remains unclear how students would develop under conditions of another system of differentiation. High drop-out rates, wasted reserves of gifted students and unreliable techniques of selection, etc., have revealed that some forms of differentiation do not do justice to the individuality of the student. Yet the advantages and disadvantages of various kinds of differentiation cannot be determined--in spite of IEA and other studies.

(c) The Components of Differentiation: Ultimately all organizational subdivisions within the school system derive their meaning from curricular variations.

Objectives and the courses which correspond to them can be differentiated by degrees of difficulty and inclusiveness. Furthermore, students may be allowed to choose between courses which are supposed to be equal in prestige and difficulty; in other cases some subjects have high prestige such as Latin in Western European schools and the so-called theoretical subjects. Closely connected with the curriculum are the teaching methods which can serve as another means of differentiation. The curriculum is perhaps the least explored aspect of differentiation. Little is known about the degree to which differentiation in the various countries is based upon the curriculum, about the differentiating effects which certain subjects have, and about the curricular changes which must be made in order to achieve other effects of differentiation.

Another component of differentiation is achievement. No system of differentiation can function without it, but ways of emphasizing it vary. Incentives can be established in the form of grades, certificates, rewards and transfer possibilities to other class levels or schools, or there may be sanctions such as repetition of grades, the loss of prestige, the denial of certificates, and expulsion from school. But little is known about how the kind of differentiation influences the level of achievement.

The most obvious form of differentiation is in systems in which there are different and strictly separated types of schooling; e.g. in Germany and also in England and France. The disadvantages of early selection cannot be compensated by possibilities of later transfer from one type to another, because curricula differences, which are the basis of the separation, still remain. Parallel curricula for a certain period of time is not satisfactory as the low transfer rates in France and Austria indicate. The example of Germany reveals that this produces a variety of supplementary forms without real changes of the basic structure.

Another kind of differentiation, the horizontal type of structure, allows by its nature only few variations. A form with three levels, partly overlapping, however, existed in Sweden from 1927 to 1962 e.g. the Volksskola, Realskola, and Gymnasium. A two level structure is now widespread, e.g. in Sweden since 1962 and in the communist countries. The first level comprises compulsory schools. Beyond the compulsory level differentiation is established by subdividing the educational system into one type of general education and several types of vocational or semi-vocational education.

In contrast the principle of internal differentiation allows for a great number of possibilities. One form consists of various branches with graduating certificates of equal value as, e.g., the branches within the German Gymnasium. The new "lines" within the Swedish comprehensive school are also intended to be of equal value. Within comprehensive systems, equality in value of streams becomes crucial. The differentiating effects of streams should not be measured by their theoretically conceived role but according to the transfer rates from one stream to the next level of education.

(d) Relevant Data for the Effects of Differentiating Institutions: The main forms of differentiation mentioned above are built into existing school systems; how they work and what results they have is revealed only by an analysis of the school system as a whole. Indices which define the effects of differentiation are needed. One suitable index of existing forms of differentiation seems to be the accessibility of institutions of higher education. For example, if the whole of a particular age group enter a comprehensive primary school but only a small fraction of that age group enter institutions of higher education, what forms of differentiation prevented the majority from reaching higher education? However, in comparative terms "comprehensive primary education" and "higher education" are complex indices and consequently difficult to apply.

To begin with the first of these two terms, the length of comprehensive primary education, varies from country to country, often streaming in the first grades differentially prepares students for selective access to the following educational stage. There are also qualitative disparities between schools. Moreover pre-school education contributes to the disparity of educational opportunities when they are accessible only to a part of the relevant age group. In short, differentiation already takes place within primary education.

The other term "higher education" is even more complex. The percentage of an age group entering higher education is only a rough index for measuring the results of the differentiation processes. This figure should be broken down according to the second stage institutions which prepared the entrants higher education, and according to the structure of higher education. The link between a differentiated secondary level and a differentiated higher education raises the following questions:

(1) What differences of quality and prestige exist within higher education; for example, universities, Fachschulen, teacher training colleges, differences in prestige of the various universities? What relationship exists between these levels of higher education and the previously attended school?

(2) How are teaching and studying organized at the level of higher education? The examples of the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union demonstrate that a less differentiated secondary level of education may - or must - be compensated by more guidance at the university level.

(3) How are the requirements for admission defined? The differences between the various countries are considerable. Barriers in the form of selection procedures or special requirements, for instance, can be established between secondary and higher education; there can be a great difference between the number of students passing secondary education and those entering higher education (e.g. in the USSR). These transition rates from secondary to higher education identify the effects of differentiation. In practice, however, it is very difficult to obtain

statistics specified in such a way. Particularly in school systems with a high degree of comprehensiveness (as in the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.), where nine schools which are formally equal to others give their students an advantage.

There are three groups of data which lead us to the differentiating effects of educational institutions. First, the rates of regular transition from one type of schooling or from stable and clearly defined streams, to the following level. Some of the factors determining these proportions can be found within the school system itself. Second, and more difficult to assess in statistical terms is the irregular transition which occurs, for example, from Hauptschule to Mittelschule in Austria, from Modern School to Grammar School in England, etc. There is also downward mobility. High rates of irregular upward transition would indicate that the school system is approaching the comprehensive type.

A third group of data is attached to the problem of internal selection. First of all, it comprises statistics of retention and repetition rates. These rates are the most important indices of selection in the case of highly comprehensive systems and they are an additional index of the selective character of parallel systems. Differentiated statistics on repetition and drop-out rates, especially statistics on the further path which dropped-out students choose, can show how the separate types of schooling function within the school system. At present such flow statistics are available only in the form of case studies.

(e) Indices of Dysfunctionality: Some indices of dysfunctionality can be stated. Low retention-rates signify a wastage of resources on the part of the school authorities and disappointment on the part of drop-out students; a shortage of graduated school leavers can be considered as a failure of the school system; demand in excess of the supply of school places causes disappointment on the part of students not admitted. Dysfunctionality is also revealed when an institution does not correspond to the purpose for which it has been set up. Reformers need a more sophisticated concept of the functional relationships.

(f) Differentiation as a Structural Problem of the Educational Systems: The OECD-study mentioned above came to the conclusion that discrimination between general and vocational education becomes less and less tenable. To the traditional academic path to higher education is now added vocational or semi-vocational education institutions which also lead to higher education. Today an analysis of the differentiation problem in terms of access to higher education must include all types of secondary education.

The different forms and types of professional secondary education are functioning as alternatives to the traditional general secondary schools. Adolescents can choose this or that way to a higher education level. Often the drop-outs of the selective professional ones (for example by the commercial academies and technical institutions in Austria). The structure of the educational system as a whole determines which way to higher education is favored.

Account should also be taken of the social prestige connected with certain certificates. For example, the social value of an American high school diploma and a German Abitur is quite different. The social value of certificates can become a factor which makes education institutions function in a different way from what was originally intended. Obviously, the high prestige of a school type can cause a run on it when the barrier of admission is lowered.

II. Criteria for Selecting Data for a Cross-National and Inter-Disciplinary Analysis of Reform

Thomas indicated that her analysis complemented that of Glowka and that she was concerned with the selection of societal data in the investigation of the social functions of differentiation.

(a) Methodological Considerations:

(1) The main function of cross-national studies is to meet the problem that purely national studies do not include all the relevant variables connected with the question. This applies both to the role of comparisons as a substitute for experiments and to a comparative approach designed to generate hypotheses which could then be tested nationally or internationally.

This concept of comparisons has implications for the kind of questions asked, and the kind of answers sought as explanations of similarities and differences.

(2) The second methodological point concerns problems of statistical techniques and of isolating factors of syndromes of factors in cross-national studies. This will not be dealt with.

If an attempt is made to discover the causes and conditions of change on an international basis, the criteria for selecting data are the same both for qualitative and statistical methods of investigation. The kind of questions asked determine whether statistical methods or other approaches are more appropriate. And the plausibility of empirically and non-empirically verified or falsified statements depends on the quality of the selection criteria. The I.E.A. is a good (or bad) example of this problem. Once comparisons are aimed at the causes investigations of the conditions and effects of specific measures within different social contexts are necessary. Some examples will illustrate this need.

(b) Participation Ratio in Selective Secondary Schools: The under-representation of working class children in academic schools or in universities is a well established fact. But there are considerable differences between countries with school systmes of similar structural selectivity which range for example from 6% working class students in West Germany to 12% in France and to 25% in England prior to changes along comprehensive lines. These differences in participation rates may or may not be due to not easily discernible differences in the structures and content of secondary education, in the character of the selection procedures, in the age of transfer from primary to secondary education, etc. Another feature of these differences in participation rates is that the motivation to change the selective system was much stronger in countries (western countries) with already relatively high proportions of working class children in the secondary and university levels than it was in countries with high social selectivity as is in the case of Germany or Austria. One reason may be, that where a high proportion of children are not traditionally orientated to academic studies but who gain access to academic institutions problems of adaptability are becoming more apparent. The high drop-out rates of capable working class pupils indicate that the problem of equal opportunity is not so much one of ensuring free access to educational institutions but of holding and qualifying children. This leads back to the question of how the differences between countries can be explained. If reforms are stimulated or accelerated by an effective demand for secondary schooling from social strata not traditionally orientated to such studies, it might be fruitful to investigate the social factors influencing this private demand. A thorough study of the factors accounting for those differences might provide not only descriptive historical explanations, but would also lead to the identification of strategically important combinations of factors influencing the demand for secondary education thus to the identification of variables, the manipulation of which is expected to provide equalization of opportunities.

(c) Questions on Which More Detailed Studies Can Be Made:

(1) Were the criteria for classifying people as "workers" within the different national models of social classifications comparable? Do they apply to roughly the same people by economic, social, or occupational standards? These questions hold true especially for the classification of occupational groups within the so-called middle-class

which varies enormously between countries and makes it impossible to rely upon available statistics for a more detailed study.

(2) One explanation of strong demands from the lower strata has been the famous concept of social and economic change. It has been claimed that social mobility has risen in the last decades and that a school system developed within the framework of a relatively stable class-structure is no longer bearable especially in view of the rising job requirements. It may well be that even slight differences in mobility rates between countries are responsible for different aspirations of the lower strata. An investigation of the conditions of mobility could therefore help to throw some light on the social functions of schooling for different strata in different countries.

Apart from the general low rate of mobility between social strata differentiation has occurred within the traditional strata, e.g. the establishment of a "working middle-class" - the skilled workers as opposed to the unskilled - and that mobility mainly takes place within strata. English studies, e.g. on the aspirations of working class parents for their children themselves tend to confirm this point. Yet available national statistics are not sufficiently differentiated to allow for close comparisons of different subgroups according to their job aspirations, attitudes towards schooling, etc. In fact, do traditional classification models have conservative effects or even conservative functions? Perhaps the sociologists can say. At any rate, it is necessary to distinguish carefully between the attitudes of the different subgroups within a society, their relation to other subgroups, and to compare these with similar groups in other countries.

Another vital point is the degree of awareness of the role of education within the various subgroups. For example, German studies showed that the social perception of German workers in industry is characterized by a sort of dichotomy, where workers are placed and place themselves below other people and there is no connection between the two worlds. Similar findings have been made in respect to the educational aspirations of industrial workers. There is a kind of collective resignation preventing the search for admission to secondary schools. There is no open, collective questioning of the present school structure, though every third adult German believes he has not had his rightful educational opportunity. The attitude pattern of English skilled workers seems to be different. They have been mainly responsible for the nearly proportionate participation rates of working class children in the lower grades of grammar schools. But here again one should carefully note whether such aspirations are directed to social and occupational ascent by means of secondary and university education or whether schooling has become simply a consumer good, as seems to be often the case in England. This question would throw a different light on the problem of dropouts.

What is the real meaning of extended education for similar sub-groups in different countries? Maybe an advanced secondary education was more vital status wise to an English or French skilled worker than it is in Germany.

These were just a few examples of the kind of relevant questions when examining the social conditions of change on an international basis. The normal indices, like the overall relation between schooling and social background, schooling and income level, etc. have thus far only produced evidence of some general trends of developments, but they do not explain the differences within similar groups of countries or the mechanics of change.

III. Statistical Analyses

The theme of Anderson's presentation was that the meaning of terms, ideas and concepts in education could be widened, deepened and strengthened by the collection of numerical data. Indices have to be established in order to collect information, and functional relationships can perhaps best be studied on the basis of statistics, though this is not to deny the value of studies which do not involve them. Several key concepts and relationships could be more adequately studied in this way. Moreover, many beliefs can best be tested statistically - and frequently refuted.

(a) Educational Concepts:

(1) Curriculum - meaning could be given to the term curriculum, by finding statistical answers to questions such as: How much about subject A have children learned; what is the standard deviation among them; and what are the mean levels of performance? Much could be learned from the U.S.A. experiments showing that some examination practices were not essential to the achievement of certain curriculum goals.

(2) Comprehensive schools -- can numerical measures be applied to school systems or only to individual schools? Would the rate at which children move up the educational ladder and reach certain levels be a suitable measure of comprehensiveness?

(3) Educational finance -- indices which have real meaning should be developed. In comparative studies proportions of the national budget devoted to education are less than adequate. Account should be taken of the proportion of the G.N.P. spent - either publicly or privately. Attempts should be made to see how shifts in spending e.g. on alcohol or flowers would enable states with lagging educational expenditures to bring them up to the national average.

(4) Junior college - an example drawn from the U.S.A. is the Junior College. Are teachers in these institutions orientated towards secondary education or towards higher education? Should they be regarded as completing secondary education or providing the first two years of undergraduate study? Statistical indices would help to resolve this question.

(5) Educational reform - statistical evidence is vital if an evaluation of change is to be made. For example, it is often assumed that people with an equivalent amount of schooling have equivalent jobs. OECD statistical studies have shown that in Sweden graduates occupy only top jobs but this is not so in Japan or the U.S.A. Here the labor force has been upgraded through the provision of education.

(b) Socio-Economic Concepts:

(1) Social status and middle class values are virtually meaningless terms unless numerical data can be applied. These are families of ideas for which indices should be sought. Some of these will be derived from correlation studies.

(2) Productivity - this is not so much a question of definition but of establishing functional relationships.

(c) Relationship Studies:

(1) Schooling and social status - the IEA study is full of information in statistical terms showing how learning is patterned in relation to social class status. Unexplained is why children in one country and from a lower class perform better than children in another country from a higher social class. Or why children perform better in countries where children do not like their teachers who are controlled by a ministry than in countries where these relationships are freer.

(2) Economics and education -- many economic reasons for investment in education are given; it changes the occupational structure by democratizing the occupational structure; it increased productivity; and it may change the distribution of income. Only careful statistical studies would confirm or refute such hypotheses. For example, through the number of scientists and technologists employed is directly related to national income, the latter is not correlated with the number of students studying science and technology at given levels.

(d) Educational Statistical Data: Anderson suggested that the more statistical data collected on a comparative basis the better. Some information would be relatively simple. For example, how many pupils are in school between the ages 16-17 years. How many pupils fall out of a system? How evenly is education distributed over the rural/urban regions of a country? What are the rates of attendance at various levels? Other statistics would be more difficult to acquire. For example: How is performance in arithmetic/mathematics correlated with mother tongue at various points in a school system?

(e) Cautions in the Use of Statistics:

(1) Matrixes of co-efficients rather than simple correlations offer a way into the study of relationships between education and society.

(2) Care should be taken not to transfer any variable from one side of the equation to the other. For example, it may be that a child's academic ability creates parental attitudes to education rather than the reverse.

(3) Care should be taken to identify the issue. For example, the demand for education is often really a question of supply.

(4) A variety of investigatory techniques should be employed e.g., interviews with parents throw light on the importance of the school on school achievements in mathematics.

(5) Educational dysfunctionality can only be identified when quantitative measures have been introduced into the investigation.

SUMMARY

1. Interpretative (explanatory) and correlation studies demand a detailed analysis of both the educational system and its infra-structure.

2. To identify processes of differentiation within the second stage of education makes possible the establishment of functional relationships.

3. Differentiation may involve individualized teaching, or at the other radically different school types. The curriculum and prestige accorded to some and not other subjects within it also performs a differentiating function.

4. Many studies show the connections between differentiation in school systems and social stratification. Correlations between manpower needs and forms of differentiation are more complicated than has sometimes been thought. It is not clear how students would perform under different conditions of differentiation from those under which they have been taught.

5. The well-established fact that working class children are under represented in academic schools should lead to a more careful study in comparative terms of participation rates, motivation and the combination of factors which influence the demand for secondary education.

6. Criteria for classifying people should be looked at more critically, with the object of defining sub-groups and refining methods of enquiry.

7. Statistical data add to and strengthen the meaning of educational terms e.g. curriculum, comprehensive schools, junior colleg, finance, etc.

8. Socio-economic concepts can be made meaningful only when numerical indices can be ascribed to them.

9. Relationships studies using statistical data should be undertaken with due care and supported by other techniques of investigation.

CHAPTER V

SOME PHILOSOPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS RELATED TO THE REFORM OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

Decision theory should take account of ideological or normative factors when used to explain the choice of educational policy made. Without analyzing in great detail possible relationships between ideas and behavior, it may be said that in periods of change philosophical positions are debated with renewed vigor. To justify their proposals reformers appeal to the authority of a set of principles which have been formulated by a philosopher or a group of like minded philosophers. Their opponents usually appeal to an older tradition. Finally, decisions are taken in the light of some philosophical assumptions which provide the goals or aims of educational innovation.

Pluralism implies that various groups in a society hold somewhat different views about society, individuality and the nature of knowledge and how it can be acquired. In some spheres of social life, there may be a measure of consensus, in other spheres assumptions may be hotly debated. Comparative studies need philosophical rationales based on national value patterns in order to understand in comparative perspective the nature of the debates and the basis on which decisions are finally reached.

Professor Paul Nash, from Boston University, illustrated major philosophical debates in Europe by referring to two major themes. Namely (a) the dialectic of authority and freedom, and (b) the dialectic of excellence and quality. Dr. Brian Holmes, of the University of London, placed the debates within four major European philosophical traditions, namely (a) the Platonic-Aristotelean, (b) the encyclopedist, (c) pragmatism and (d) Marxism.

I. Authority and Freedom

Nash referred to the dialectic of authority and freedom in the countries under consideration.

In England the 1944 Education Act consolidated the government's authority and made it possible to attempt to provide the basic conditions for the individual exercise of freedom i.e. to remove poverty, malnutrition, sickness, ignorance and so on. Educational provision, however, is still hierarchical and there is still little awareness of the idea of participating authority, hence the slowness of reform in the public sector of education. Another debilitating factor is the traditional docility and submissiveness of the English lower classes.

The Conservative Party in England argue in favor of what they call "excellence" - an uncritical acceptance of performance based on privilege. This view is shared by many Labour Party supporters who see education as a means of upward social mobility. This approach perpetuates competition, and faith in the comprehensive school to change the class dominated pattern of education is, according to Nash, excessively optimistic. The system is moving towards a situation where the most serious competition will occur at the age of 18 rather than at the age of 11.

Nash went on to say that hierarchy stems from scarcity. The response to conditions of shortage has been a theory of innate inequality among men to justify hierarchy and authority. Now all four countries are moving toward affluence with a consequent weakening of conventional authority. Students, no longer fearing poverty, are less deferential, demand more of their schooling in that they wish it to be relevant and less ritualistic. They refuse to accept the manpower argument and want access to education without reference to what educators call "ability". They are concerned about personal relevance, relationships and more subjective types of knowledge.

They wish to choose their own curriculum, their own teachers and their own school. At the same time, teachers and parents are demanding a greater say in the processes of education and educational planning. Many conventional ideas about the selection and allocation of students by teachers and tests rather than by the students' interests are questionned.

III. Excellence and Quality

Nash suggested that notions of equality are changing the relationship between teacher and students. Students are questionning the authority of the teachers' knowledge and the conventional hierarchy of subjects. Questions are also being raised about conventional distinction between minority and popular cultures. The superiority of the gentlemanly tradition is being questionned.

In France, according to Nash, education is characterized by the authority of the intellect - a basically inequalitarian position. The lycée - as the apotheosis of excellence - dominates the scene, stresses the disinterested pursuit of knowledge and consequently is elitist. The authority of the teacher in France is a conservative force. The agregés are powerful enough to prevent serious reform although speeches about excessive disorder in the lycées and the need for authority and order in education evoke hope.

The students, however, are the best judges of the system according to Nash, and are increasingly showing their unwillingness to submit to anachronistic and irrelevant experience.

In Germany, authority lies largely with the gymnasium and university teachers. The influence of these groups has been to work against reform and has excluded students and parents from a status of equality in planning educational change.

In Sweden on the surface the situation is more equalitarian and less authoritarian. But authority lies with the central government. Teachers are conservative but reform has been put through against their opposition. Subsequently, teachers were ineffective in implementing the reform. The lack of participation in preparing the reform was commented on by Nash.

At the same time definitions of excellence are under attack. Students, Nash suggested, will not tolerate the arbitrary definitions symbolized by the bachot, the abitur and the General Certificate of Education. There is need to redefine excellence in less limited terms than those traditionally used in the academic schools of Europe.

Finally, Nash maintained that in meeting these new demands the education of teachers was crucial. Sensitivity training is needed so that they become less complacent about what is going on with students and be prepared to re-examine recent demands for equal paritipcation in the educational decision-making by all those who are affected by the decisions.

III. Major European Traditions

The debates about "authority and freedom" and on the relative merits of "equality and excellence" have a general relevance in the climate of discussion in post-war Europe. Their particular importance in education depends on the way in which they are used to bringing about "political conversion". As arguments they are effective within a pattern of other factors. They should be seen, however, in the light of attempts in Europe since the war to find a philosophy - new or old - which would justify a new "way of life".

Holmes took the view that the theory of "national character" is useful in that it suggests that the latter places restrictions on the kinds of reform which are possible and on the rates at which they can take place.

While the whole theory of national character has been called into question, there is a sense in which the study of national character belongs to practical politics and enables the psychology and general character of nations to be known in a way that facilitates an understanding of policy. Consequently, in seeking to understand differences in approach to the reform of education in Europe, it would be highly desirable to compare the persisting sentiments of the English, French, German and Swedish peoples. A number of approaches to the investigation of these values through:

(1) A study of creative writing - novels, poems and plays.
(2) Writers such as Andre Siegfried, Sir Ernest Barker, and Salvador de Mad.

A more systematic review of the literature and methods of studying national character is in H.C.J. Duijker and N.H. Frida "National Character and National Stereotypes" in Confluence, Amsterdam, North Holland Publishing Co., 1960.

Holmes suggested that national philosophical differences justifying or restraining reform could be studied by examining somewhat arbitrarily selected writings of national philosophers. For France, Descartes would serve as an example, but Condorcet might be equally useful. For Germany would it be reasonable to consider Hegelo or von Humboldt as a spokesman of a national philsoophical tradition? Could Bostrom be taken as the national Swedish philosopher? Many debates among English educationists are still understandable against the philosophical views of Locke.

More adequate theoretical or rational constructs of the Weberian type are needed in comparative education. They could be based on the techniques of philosophical analysis. Holmes suggested that the four major traditions offer conflicting (and in some cases mutually contradictory) theories of man, society and knowledge. Each of these traditions has its present day interpreters. Nowhere have all aspects of one tradition been overthrown by another.

Holmes proposed that it was possible to draw from Plato's Republic a pattern of theories which could be used to justify pre post-World War II educational practices in Europe. Four main theories are relevant.

A. Classical Theories - Plato-Aristotle

(1) Individual Differences: One theory of individualism justifies the belief that (a) inequalities among men are basically intellectual and (b) these different abilities are innate, i.e. largely the product of inheritance.

(2) The Good and Just Society: The just society is one in which each person has a particular role to play and is satisfied to occupy a particular niche in society. Philosopher kings and bureaucrats will be capable and happy to exercise their leadership roles. Craftsmen will be content to perform the work allocated to them in accordance with their abilities. The good society is a stable-virtually static society.

(3) Knowledge: A classical theory of knowledge emphasizes intellectual intuitionism. Knowledge for its own sake becomes the central purpose of education, once acquired its applications are universal.

(4) Theory of Change: The view that change is a process of degeneration helps to justify Europeans'

> commitment to things that are old and explains why they are frequently, in cultural affairs, unwilling to change.

Against such a pattern of beliefs can be understood the main features of most pre-World War II systems of education in Europe. Universal, compulsory and free elementary education was followed by a differentiated system of schools at the second stage of education. While considerable differences existed between national systems, there were three main types of second stage schools: (1) the academic, preparing pupils for university entrance; (2) vocational schools offering technical and commercial training; and (3) the terminal classes of the elementary schools.

Curricula of the academic schools turned on the study of languages: classical languages for the most able, modern languages for the next most able. Mathematics came high on the list of priorities. History, geography and some natural science found a place. An extension of Aristotle's restricted liberal arts subjects can be understood by reference to eighteenth century encyclopedism. English schools had a more restricted curriculum than continental schools serving similar functions, and vocational schools had not developed there.

The dichotomy between general education and vocational training was apparent everywhere. Pre-war teacher training reflected the divisions at the second stage of education.

Important differences in national outlook might be compared by looking at the epistemological assumptions held in England, France, Sweden and Germany. Movements and debates in these different contexts might be viewed against theories drawn from encyclopedism, pragmatism and Marxism.

B. Encyclopedism

(1) Individual Differences are innate but not necessarily inherited, but man is essentially reasonable and his perfectibility is indefinite.

(2) The Good and Just Society is one based on liberty, equality and fraternity. The best government protects the liberty of individuals but interferes as little as possible in their affairs.

(3) Knowledge is encyclopedic. The whole range of human knowledge should be acquired but emphasis should be placed on modern rather than on classical studies, e.g. natural science, modern languages.

(4) Social Change: Society can be transformed in a number of stages to a point where its affairs will be conducted in the light of reason and men will understand their rights and know how to discharge their duties responsibly.

C. Marxism

(1) Individual Differences are the outcome of environment rather than innate inequalities.

(2) The Good and Just Society is one in which the means of production are collectively owned and in which relationships between workers maximize production in the interests of building up a truly Communist society.

(3) Knowledge. The dichotomy between pure and practical knowledge is false. Knowledge may be acquired scientifically through dialectics. It leads to universal irrefutable laws which can be applied regardless of the context.

(4) Social Change is inevitable and occurs in accordance with changes in the ownership of the means of production and in the light of conflict between workers and capitalists.

D. Pragmatism

(1) Individual Differences are innate but intelligence is shared by all.

(2) The Good and Just Society is democratic in which men solve their problems by the exercise of organized intelligence.

(3) Knowledge is tested in the light of predicted outcomes which can be verified (or refuted) in experience. It is relative and outcomes are predicted in the light of specific circumstances.

(4) Social Change is inevitable but its direction can be changed by the action of individuals.

Holmes asked to what extent encyclopedism was now able to provide a satisfactory rationale for European education, and in what areas of policy are encyclopedist principles being questionned. The selective system proposed by Condorcet, for example, is under attack. Encyclopedist principles of curriculum organization are less questionnned. Pragmatic and Marxian theories are now the basis of curriculum discussion in some countries.

Arguments about the structure of the school system and the role of government turn on the relative emphasis which should be accorded to liberty and equality. Increasingly equality is stressed and government is expected to ensure equality of educational provision.

The Marxian view that measurable differences in attainment are far more the product of environmental than of innate differences is gaining strength. Concern is shown about the existence of "two nations" within a society based on the dichotomy between science and technology and the humanities; between education and training and between white collar occupations and manual work.

IV Public Debate and National Consensus

The particular arguments and the general philosophical framework within which they can be placed should be analyzed in detail if the ideological obstacles to reform are to be understood. Pressure groups within societies have their practical proposals based on principles derived from one or several of the major traditions. Inconsistencies occur which give rise to problems related to the formulation of a consistent and coherent pattern of policies and regulating theories. In order to understand how the resulting confusion inhibits reform, a comparative analysis of political processes is necessary. This involves a description of the groups involved, their political power, the issues with which they are concerned, and the ways in which on matters of policy they operate. Political parties, professional organizations, trade unions, and the bureaucracy are among the groups whose attitude towards educational change might be studied.

SUMMARY

1. Ideological issues influence the formulation and adoption of educational policy.

2. Major debates about education in Europe have been couched in terms of "freedom and authority", "equality and excellence" and "liberty and equality".

3. These issues may be related to major philosophical traditions which provide justification for specific reform proposals.

4. Debates reveal that while on some issues there is virtual consensus e.g. all people are to be treated as equals before the law, and all adults ought to have the vote. On other questions disagreement is found e.g. all children ought not to be treated as though they were equally capable of benefiting from the same kind of education.

5. Philosophical principles find expression in the manifestos of political parties and in the policies of pressure groups.

6. The processes by which principles are translated into policies should be the subject of political science research.

CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL PROCESSES IN THE FORMULATION, ADOPTION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF POST-WAR EDUCATIONAL REFORM

The different rates of progress towards broadly similar reform policies need to be interpreted in political terms. The case studies showed the extent to which educational reform in the various countries was a party political issue. But more detailed frameworks of analysis are needed if the processes of reform are to be compared in some depth.

Evidently in the immediate post-war period the climate of aspirations was heightened everywhere. Reformers justifying their claims on the basis of a philosophical or ideological commitment had to have them accepted in order to make practical reform possible. The processes of transforming general principles into effective policies and subsequently into workable practice are complicated and demand detailed and differential political science analysis. One thing is clear, political parties have to be persuaded that reform is necessary, and the inertia of power groups within the teaching profession have to be overcome. The extent to which educational research can be used to bring about political and professional consensus is a question of some importance.

In the immediate post-war period research in France, England and Germany was lacking. The arguments were principally socio-political although soon sociological research in England was to support the demand for comprehensive schools. There was a grave shortage of curriculum research. Under these conditions political processes are decisive in determining the extent to which reform is possible.

Professor Paul E. Peterson, University of Chicago, presented a framework of analysis and drew his illustrations from the research he had carried out in England and Wales. Professor Saul Robinsohn from the Max Planck Institute in Berlin analyzed aspects of the politics of reform movements in the German Federal Republic.

I. An Overview of the Politics of Education in Post-War Europe

Peterson drew a distinction between partisan party politics and a definition which suggests that all the actions related to formulation, adoption and implementation of policy should be considered as part of a political system. The French and English case studies tended to restrict the analysis to partisan political party policies. The Swedish case study threw little light on the actualities of party politics as they influence education in that country. Evidently in order to interpret changes in European education, account should be taken of party politics. On the other hand, more refined processes of political analysis are needed if the mechanics of change are to be understood.

Peterson also distinguished between the political role of producer groups and consumer groups in education. The producer groups of interest are teacher organizations. The roles of such groups in the various countries were compared and their relationships with the consumer groups who use the goods and services provided were examined. Evidently the organizations representing the teachers in the academic secondary schools can play a decisive role in preventing reform. Another group is important; namely the educational bureaucracy. The influence in France of the societe des aggregés and in Sweden of the Royal Board of Education was discussed from time to time but a more systematic comparative treatment of their contribution to the mechanics is needed.

Peterson made a further distinction. He identified various types of political activity. In particularistic politics it is the producer groups, which have a major influence on policy; - political parties are involved only for opportunistic reasons, and the pattern of policy change is gradual and continuous. Conflict is between a relatively coherent producer group and the authorities who provide, for example, the financial resources needed for reform.

In pluralistic politics producer groups are involved in a competetive and shifting conflict pattern. Groups representing different groups of teachers will, for example, propose different policies. Professional educationists may have different views from academics in the university. On the issues which fall within the arena of pluralistic politics, the political parties have only a peripheral role and may in fact in some countries choose for a variety of reasons to avoid conflict with producer group organizations.

In status group politics, educational issues are debated by the representatives of broadly based social groups such as those based on race, religion, social class and political party affiliation. These groups often represent consumer interests. Political party politics play a major role and producer groups consequently attempt to influence decision through electual and partisan channels.

Four main issues of policy were identified by Peterson as exemplifying these different avenues of politics. The expansion of education is an example of particularistic politics, e.g. raising the school leaving age. The modernization of education is an example of pluralistic politics, e.g. the reform of the curriculum. The reorganization of the structure of secondary education is an example of status group politics, e.g. the comprehensivization of secondary schools. Another example of status groups politics is the secularization of education: it was generally agreed that the importance of this last issue had declined in Europe.

II The Politics of Reform Movements

Robinsohn related his analysis of the political processes of reform to eight topics and illustrated them by referring to the German Federal Republic. The topics were:

(1) The short-lived reform impulse after the war.
(2) The aggregation of interests and views.
(3) The machinery for consultation and the process of generating consensus.
(4) The relevance of research.
(5) The effects of a Federal System with Federalistic control.
(6) Socio-political motives.
(7) The ambivalence of the economic argument.
(8) Alternative responses of the system and reasons for the course taken.

The Short-Lived Reform Impulse:

Robinsohn asked how certain facts generated arguments which gave rise to political decisions and the acceptance of policies in the immediate post-war period. Concepts of democracy, nine years obligatory schooling, free tuition, education for citizenship and international understanding and a horizontal organization of schooling gained ground under the conditions of allied control. The chance of research findings, a mistrust of economic arguments and because proposals to reform the structure and curriculum were used to avoid rather than implement reform, the social impulse created by the war was short lived.

Aggregation in Interest and Views:

Who in the post-war period were the reformers? And who were the non-reformers? Robinsohn pointed to memoranda from university academics and professors of education which placed them in the camp of non-reformers. The academic secondary school teachers, middle, and indeed vocational school teachers were also against reform. So, too, were leaders of the church. Primary school teachers were lukewarm.

Only in 1964 did the S.P.D. come out as accepting reform. The Länder of Hamburg and Hessen also supported reform. Consequently transitional moves from ideology to policy in political party commitment may be seen, with the possibility of an aggregation of reform opinion.

Machinery for Consultation and Generating Consensus:

The example of Sweden where the bureaucracy was won over to reform illustrates the need to achieve this in Germany. Until recently educational administrators opposed change, and plans produced by commissions e.g. the Rahmen plan of 1953 involved minimal changes. The tenuous links between parliament and public opinion, the lack of resources, and the shortage of research backing were barriers to progress. Only after 1959 was a watershed reached when it became increasingly possible for public opinion to make itself felt with the bureaucracy through the establishment of an education council.

The Relevance of Research to Reform:

The late involvement of research as a way of removing barriersof insight and consciousness had something to do with the lag in social science research during the Nazi period. Opposition to sociological research exists but the influence of work by Professor Edding and Professor Dahrendorf et al, is now being felt.

The Federal System:

The desire on the part of Länder to remain separate in cultural matters has inhibited reform. Certain authorities have experimented but cultural federalism has acted more as a break than a driving force. Regional differences in wealth, confessional attachment and forms of control have made unified policies difficult to achieve and overall movements towards nine or ten years of compulsory schooling have been slow. Clear cut reform programs by the major political parties would have some effect.

Socio-Political Motives:

The reasons why some Länder move more rapidly and further than others need to be examined. Arguments about the nature of society help to enlist political pressure groups and act as a catalyst. Under such conditions sociological research may become more effective.

The Ambivalence of the Economic Argument:

The economic argument can never be decisive, other support is needed. But in periods of stress, commercial and industrial interests will favor a highly differentiated school structure designed to meet short-term manpower needs. The manpower argument, on the other hand, was used against allied programs. The availability of foreign labour may make it possible for proposals to introduce comprehensive reforms to be pursued more vigorously.

Alternative Responses of the System:

The school system is bound to be under pressure from forces outside the schools and forces within them. The myth of equality argued by teachers cannot easily be overcome in the absence of experimental evidence. External forces are not very powerful. There are hopeful signs that changes in the structure and curriculum of the middle school period will occur.

SUMMARY

1. The seminar concentrated on the politics of the reorganization of structure (status group politics) and the reform of the curriculum (pluralistic politics). Of interest was the extent to which in the various countries these issues could be placed neatly into the Peterson categories. Undoubtedly, English data influenced his decisions, but the framework was valuable and could be used as the basis of more detailed comparative interpretations.

2. The issues involved determine whether political processes should be regarded as particularistic, pluralistic, or status group politics. In the first of these, the producers of education are in broad agreement and are constrained by financial resources, etc. In pluralistic politics, groups of producers are in conflict over policy, and in status group politics, policy is formulated by consumer and other interested groups outside education. From this analysis the importance of identifying in detail issues of policy becomes apparent.

3. Some explanation is needed of the short-lived impulse for reform in some European countries particularly the German Federal Republic.

4. Processes by which consensus is reached and the arguments used enable the obstacles to reform to the identified.

5. Important groups involved in particularistic and pluralistic politics include the bureaucracy, academics and research workers, and teachers' organizations.

6. Political parties, the trade union, non-educational professional organizations, big business and church

officials are among the groups which involve themselves in status group politics.

7. The relative influence of these groups on identifiable issues is in need of rigorous and detailed investigation.

CHAPTER VII

SOME SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS INFLUENCING POSTWAR REFORM IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

While virtually every aspect of education has been debated in Europe since World War II, the expansion of educational opportunity received the greatest attention in the immediate postwar period. If a crude increase in educational provision was accepted (particularistic politics) by a wide range of professional and public opinion, the levels at which it should occur and the way it should be organized were hotly debated (pluralistic and status group politics). Initially the ideological impulse to reform the structure of secondary education came in England and France from the political left. The long period of power enjoyed by the socialists in Sweden confirms this general hypothesis. The line-up of forces within a political commitment to provide education as a human right (see the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights and many postwar constitutions and education bills) would throw light on how policy was formulated, what debates took place and how economic circumstances determined the implementation of policy in various countries. There is no doubt that in the first period socio-political arguments were pressed, and sociological factors were regarded as extremely important barriers to the achievement of high ideals regarding the democratization of education.

The relationship between education and social class have been studied intensively in many countries. Comparative investigations of these relationships have shown that access to desired forms of education is in part determined by the social class position (however defined) of parents. There is less evidence to support the claim that changes in education - and in particular in the structure of secondary schools - will radically modify the social class structure of a society. Sociological interpretations of educational reforms in Europe may be based on three assumptions about education and social change: namely, (a) education is an agent of change; (b) education is a condition of social changes and (c) educational change is an effect of other social changes.

Two frameworks facilitating an analysis of sociological factors and the relationships between them and education were presented; one by Professor Martin Trow of the University of California, Berkely, and the other by Professor Denis Lawton of the University of London.

I. Sociological Factors

A. Equality and Elitist Functions:

Trow argued that while there was consensus on the issue of extending citizenship rights in all countries, many ambiguities arose over concepts of equality in education. One concept of equality suggests that there should be an extension of access to the nation's "high culture" and to its scientific culture. A more radical concept implies that the inequalities of educational provision should be reduced so that a greater proportion of working class youngsters compared with the population at large should benefit from equal facilities. Both concepts imply that the school ought to be a place where potential talents are developed. The more radical concept of equality implies a move from ascribed status processes in society to achieved status processes. And views on the social sources of intelligence force more radical approaches to concepts of equality of educational opportunity.

Other ambiguities are related to concepts of elite functions and elite status. Can the former exist without the latter? Related to this are the simultaneous impulses to expand education to meet the demands to democratize education and to differentiate the system in order to meet economic needs. A further source of debate is the balance which ought to be drawn between liberty and equality. At first, liberty was held to be more important; there has, however, been a slow emergence of more radical concepts which are incompatible with dual systems of education.

B. Institutional Reform:

At the level of institutional reform, ambiguities in concepts reflect debates about practical reforms in education. As far as elite functions are concerned, screening up to the age of 18 or 19 on the basis of academic achievement may be justified. On the grounds of social status such screening is increasingly rejected. On the contrary compensatory education is designed to provide for the disadvantaged opportunities which will make it possible for them to participate in education at the same level as members of the more advantaged groups and will effectively postpone selection. Another proposal is to soften the process of selection by introducing periods of orientation and guidance. The policy issues involved can be recognized very readily at the level of higher education. The democratization of higher education raised the question whether, in the face of expansion, the unity of the system can be maintained. Binary systems of higher education are developing in which one part, controlled and administered by government agencies, has a markedly different status from the traditionally autonomous university sector. Insulation between these two parts of the pattern is likely to increase.

C. Forces For and Against Reform:

Finally, Trow suggested an analysis should be made of the sociological forces against and in favor of education expansion. The needs of economic development were important. They could act on old systems of education to expand them without modernizing or democratizing them. State bureaucracies were identified as agents of reform but they, too, may urge expansion without modernization.

Against reform could be identified conservative elites, groups of teachers, and representatives of the working classes some of whom may not want for their children a better education than they as parents had received. At the same time the collective resignation of large sections of a population constitutes a conservative force. "Pop" culture and changes in the sub-culture of the working class should be studied. Many institutional changes providing for a participating democracy do not necessarily lead to radical changes. Trow sympathized with the

Swedish teachers who resisted reform but were pleased something was done over their heads. On the other hand, students in a participatory democracy, become frustrated when their demands are not met. They press to have their "rights" respected. The extent to which in France students and workers united in demonstrating was worthy of close study.

The significance of research and experts was stressed. Simple expansion does not need careful planning. The modernization and democratization of education require, on the other hand, experts. The autonomous role such experts play makes it necessary to examine the system of values which they reflect, the political positions they hold and the way in which they are able in a national system of education to function effectively.

D. In Summary:

1. The forces of expansion are different from the forces influencing differentiation.
2. The concepts of liberty and quality as motivating educational provision should be analyzed and compared.
3. Institutional changes based on these different forces and concepts should be compared in order to provide sociological interpretation.
4. The expansion of higher education.

Trow concluded that in the process of reform as a means of achieving purposeful educational change, sociologists could throw light on the unintended as well as the desired outcomes of social action. He instanced some consequences of an intentional policy to develop mass systems of higher education. Reformers may urge the raising of the school-leaving age and persistance rates at school may increase thus creating pressure on higher education. Some or many students may resent such a move and remain at school under duress. Some of the consequences of expansion are a liberalized curriculum, changes in motivation, greater public interest and changes in teacher education.

Some of the consequences of mass education are that the schools show the cultural gap between students and teachers. They become less effective. Greater efforts are made to socialize students i.e. persuade them to accept the cultural values of their teachers. The turn-over of teachers increases. Teachers have weakened support from parents. More teachers from the lower classes are trained. Some of these are hoped-for consequences, others are unintended and for the most part not wanted.

II. The Goals of Education Expressed in Economic Terms

A. School Outputs

Lawton proposed a model which, he hoped, would facilitate an analysis of what has recently been happening in Western Europe. He considered goals, aims or objectives could be expressed in economic terms. School outputs could be classified under three headings: namely

1. The vocational requirements of society.
2. The aesthetic development of the individual.
3. Social and moral education.

Such a formulation would enable an examination to be made of how the propositional distribution of these three types of output changes over a period of time. In a system of differentiated school types, each may emphasize a different goal and each may be closely associated with a particular social class group. One or other of the outputs may be disregarded as a desired goal of education.

B. Social Pressures

Among the social pressures of change, Lawton identified three related but separate ones.

1. Economic pressures

2. Ideological influences.
3. Pressures to secularize the schools.

He urged that in comparative studies attempts should be made to say what social changes produce exactly what educational changes.

Economic pressures in the past encouraged the growth of elementary schools to meet the needs of industry for workers who could read and write. Secondary education developed to meet the economy's need for clerical staff and salaried workers. The recent expansion of higher education and moves to develop comprehensive schools can be explained in manpower terms.

Ideological pressures are related to concepts of the national social divisions in society. Traditionally, it was believed that it was impossible to separate children's educational aspirations and potentiality from their social status in life. Changes in the climate of opinion about individual abilities and the sources of intelligence may have a considerable influence on school reform.

Secularization pressures in Europe have been strong. It is less and less possible to regard some European countries as Christian; there is a move away from institutionalized religion towards a more secular, rational, science dominated way of life. These changes bear upon the source of authority in schools and on aspects of curriculum.

C. Aspects of Educational Change

Lawton indicated what aspects of education might change as a result of identified pressures.

1. Economic Pressures:

(a) Manpower needs may certainly influence the organization of the second stage of education and the curriculum. Traditionally economic pressures have made it possible to maintain a system of differentiated school types, one of which prepared future academic research workers, members of the profession and secondary school teachers. Other types of schools prepared pupils for specific jobs in industry, agriculture and commerce.

(b) Education for leisure arises from economic pressures which are reducing the length of the working week. This involves curriculum changes.

(c) Technological and industrial societies are in process of rapid change. They demand that young people should be educated to adjust to change and to find the way about a complicated society. These changes imply curriculum reform.

2. Ideological Pressures:

(a) Equality of opportunity (see Trow) as an ideological slogan has influenced debates on access to privileged forms of education, the external structure of the school system, the internal organization of schools and specialization within the curriculum of any school. This pressure operates to reduce structural differentiation and homogeneous groupings within comprehensive schools.

(b) The claims that a common culture should be transmitted through the schools has influenced concepts and debates about the meaning of a common culture. Should it be the high culture of a traditional elite group? Or should it be one in which diversity and variety in taste and values should be encouraged?

(c) Education for social awareness is forced upon the schools by the need in a democracy that its adult members should be able actively to participate in it. Frequently debates arise between the advocates of social awareness and the advocates of an education for social consensus or conformity. The implications are that the internal organization of schools should allow for more democratic participation. As for the curriculum the implication of this pressure is that more systematic courses in political science and sociology should be introduced and that controversial issues should be discussed.

3. Secularization Pressures:

(a) Secular counselling involves a change of authority from the church and religion to the state and psychology. It implies changes in the selection and training of teachers i.e. psychologists rather than clerics should be trained. The pastoral elements in teaching are likely to receive a different emphasis.

(b) The school in the community has different functions to perform in a modern industrial society from those it performs in a religious society. The school should be the focus of aesthetic and leisure time education and should serve, by encouraging parents to participate in school activities, to integrate the school into the community.

(c) Rational morality implies that the ethics of a school should be based on a non-religious code of ethics. Curriculum changes would involve ways of introducing moral education into schools through the development of materials designed to enable pupils to understand the rational basis of moral behavior.

III. The Case Studies

Lawton contrasted the impression gained from the German case study that educational change there is an effect of other changes whereas in Sweden emphasis is in the school as an instrument for social change.

An interesting feature of Swedish reforms is how teachers were persuaded to cooperate and the work of the bureaucracy. Lawton explained successful reform in Sweden by ascribing high importance to economic ideological and secular factors.

In assisting change in England and Wales, he thought ideological factors had played a more important role than economic or secular factors. He rejected the suggestion that the Labor Party supports the Welfare State while the Conservative Party opposes it. Both parties support it but disagree on what is meant by the term. Hence the need for detached analysis.

The slow rate of change in Germany was explained by ascribing to ideological and secular factors a very low mark, while great importance has been given in that country to economic factors. He concluded that the obstacles to reform could not be explained without a careful examination of the education of teachers in the German Federal Republic.

SUMMARY

1. Socio-political argument to democratize education and reduce social class disadvantages were strong in the post-war world. In England and France particularly they gained the support of educationists and left-wing political groups.

2. Concepts of equality and elitism differ in Europe but were used in the debates to change or conserve the structure of secondary education.

3. Sociological research tried to establish correlations between social class and educational provision. Some interpreted educational change as the result of other social changes; others held that education was an agent or instrument of social-class change.

4. Obstacles to reform include the attitudes of the working classes and the professional organizations of teachers.

5. Sociologists should,through research, be able to throw light on the unintended as well as the hoped for outcomes of educational innovation.

CHAPTER VIII

ECONOMIC THEORY, EDUCATION PROVISION AND THE REFORM OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

The conditions under which far reaching reform proposals were advanced in the late 1940's were of considerable economic shortage in Europe. The devastation of war in Germany, France and Britain alone meant that high priority had to be given to economic reconstruction. Shortages of men, material and capital added to the problems of steady planned progress. Since then, economic crises have hit France and Britain from time to time. Once the German Federal Republic was on the way to economic recovery progress has been more certain and crises rarely mentioned. In the same way, little has been heard of major ups and downs in the Swedish economy.

Undoubtedly economic conditions have helped to determine the rates at which educational reform policies have been implemented. In some cases, they have been a major factor in holding up the achievement of democratization and expansionist programs. But since the mid-fifties, interest in the economic consequences of educational policy has influenced events by stressing costs, benefits and demands.

Educational planning has been influenced to a considerable extent by economists who have looked at education as a form of investment which would benefit society at large as well as individuals participating in it. The economics of education may deal only with the costs of education and fiscal management but increasingly attempts have been made to discover relationships between occupation and educational background. It was hoped that such studies would facilitate manpower planning. In some cases, however, the possibilities of basing educational policy on manpower projections were rejected. Other studies have attempted to show correlations between investment in education would lead to economic development has been used to justify educational policies in many parts of the world.

Economists now consider that these relationships are less deterministic, lighter and looser than was previously thought to be the case. They are also aware that planning within a precise frame of reference is difficult. The conflict between economic requirements and an individual's freedom of choice cannot be resolved by fiat.

Professor Mary Jean Bowman of the University of Chicago drew out common elements (and omissions) from the case studies and linked her analysis of economic considerations with a decision theory. Professor Harold Noah of Columbia University offered a number of hypotheses which could be examined in Comparative Education terms.

I. Behavioral Analysis and Positive Economics

One main question asked by Bowman was what economic considerations should be taken into account in order to approach educational equality of opportunity, maximize freedom of choice and yet meet manpower requirements? In order to provide this economic interpretation, the relationship between human behavior and positive economic theory should be studied. To do this, several things are required.

A. A Decision Theory should take account of:

1. The incentives motivating individual behavior which may be achieved through a self-interest model in terms of cost-benefits of education.

2. Behavioral analysis which depends upon the distribution of perceived opportunities and the way in which institutions providing advantages are changing.

3. The technical parameters of human decisions which included (a) learning production functions to which a general education may add greater learning efficiency; (b) learning to learn and learning to earn which may go together on the job or in school and (c) in inequalities in the post school world.

4. How education contributes to productivity, skill communication and acquisition of new information and adaptability and creativity.

5. Behavioral analysis of manpower planning which takes into account of the "battle of approaches (manpower vs rate of return) in a dynamized benefit-cost-decision model.

B. Normative Economics and Systems Analysis should clarify the meaning of terms such as "efficiency", "equality of opportunity", "freedom of choice" and G.N.P. Such clarification for example, would lead to the following questions:

1. Freedom of choice: (a) Who makes decisions? A minority group in the interests of the majority? Who benefits? and at whose cost? The minority or the majority? Which interest group supports educational reform? (b) Does a desire to benefit the average make economic sense? Or should investment be in an elite from this viewpoint? (c) Does freedom of choice conflict with economic manpower requirements? What are the economic consequences of high demand for elite schools. (d) How do constraints on choice in the light of "manpower needs" compare economically with planning to provide a range of individual choices? (e) How important in economic terms are social-psychological theories of the individual as the determinants of policy?

2. Equality of Opportunity and Democratization: (a) To what extent do the informed decision makers control the schools and the labor market structure? (b) How does education operate as a means of acquiring opportunities? What implications has the redistribution of general purchasing power for equality of opportunity? How does the policy compare with the redistribution of a particular food or service? (c) Does the diffusion of schooling enlarge the gaps between the middle

and lower classes? Does free tuition benefit the privileged enabling the gap between the middle and upper classes to be reduced? To what extent are the extreme inequalities of input where there is seeming equality? (d) What is the added value of compensatory programs? (e) How is "value added", as an educational efficiency criterion related to the distribution of subsequent opportunities in economic roles? (f) What are the economic implications of the goal of maximum development of an individual's capacities? (g) How do voluntary decisions compare with meritocratic criteria relate to "equity", "freedom", and "efficiency"?

C. Labor Market Structures should be studied and their relationships with demands for education should be examined.

D. Educational Provision and Productivity studies provide little evidence showing close relationships. The relative advantages of investing in an elite group (the nation's intellectual capital) or in the average child has not been studied sufficiently, thoroughly to base policy on such economic considerations.

II. Hypotheses Related to the Mechanics of Secondary Education Reform

A. Conclusions from Case Studies

Noah proposed to set up a number of assumptions and hypothesis on the basis of which more detailed comparative studies could be made. From the case studies he concluded that a number of important changes had influenced secondary education in Europe.

1. Demographic Forces: There has been a surge of young people coming through into secondary education in practically every country.

2. Social Class Factor: There has been a weakening of attachment to the rigidity of a class system.

3. Economic Factors: There has been acceptance of the economic or investment value of education as an argument.

4. Collectivism: The collectivist spirit of the times now makes it possible for governments to interfere in many areas of social organization including education, the manipulation of the latter is part of a general trend.

5. Religious Factor: Reform in education has become more possible because there has been a decline in the religious issue in most countries.

B. Hypotheses Relating to the Reform of Education

Noah expressed interest not in educational change per se but in the conscious, systematic reform of education. He pressed five hypotheses in the form of questions - not in order of importance for consideration:

1. How are the characteristics of post World War II secondary education reform related to increases in the relative size of the age group? Is some increase in the size of the age group a necessary condition to produce reform?

2. How is the reform of secondary education related to rates of economic growth? There is room for comparative studies which are not highly sophisticated which might show that over the period of twenty years the expansion of secondary education has led to economic growth.

3. Is the reform of secondary education a direct function of increases in central government resources? On this question can conclusions be drawn about the influence of the strength and desirability of Socialist governments?

4. How far did World War II weaken established practices and thus contribute to educational reform?

5. How is the modern T.V. culture related to difficulties experienced by teachers?

6. How far is reform related to private and public rates of return on secondary education? Secondary education is more valuable to an individual than to the public. Hence a greater demand for it and the creation of problems arising therefrom.

Noah concluded by drawing attention to the enormous problems associated with the specification of causative models. Although the identification of factors could be done with some confidence developments in the increasingly complex stages of enquiry would undoubtedly take time.

SUMMARY

1. Economic factors can influence educational policy in several ways. They set restraints on the implementation of policy. Economic consideration can be used as arguments on which policies are formulated and adopted.

2. In the immediate post-war period the seriously weakened economies of Britain, France, and the Federal German Republic made it difficult to implement policies based on the Human Rights argument, particularly under conditions of a rapidly expanding school age population.

3. In the fifties economic arguments were advanced with the intention of influencing the formulation and adoption of policies. The manpower, cost-benefit, etc., arguments were used in this way.

4. Economic considerations should be taken into account in attempts to achieve equality of opportunity, freedom of choice and manpower needs.

5. Decision theory should take account both of economic requirements and individual freedom of choice.

6. A number of hypotheses linking education and economic aspects could stimulate careful comparative studies.

PART III

FINDINGS

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

I. Conclusions

A. Interdisciplinary and International Cooperation

The main purpose - namely interdisciplinary and international cooperation - was achieved. Eminent scholars on both sides of the Atlantic prepared papers and submitted them to the critical appraisal of colleagues. The value of this kind of international confrontation was demonstrated in the seminar when a considerable measure of agreement was reached among members on matters of interpretation. These were greatly facilitated by the presence of sociologists, economists, political scientists and philosophers of education. Comparative educationists provided the bulk of the data and allowed their interpretations of national policy changes to be debated by representatives of the country concerned and by the other social scientists.

B. Comparative Education Data

While many agencies both national and international have collected a great number and wide variety of educational data over the last quarter of a century, it was not possible to have collected in the time available, all the educational information the directors would have liked seen brought together. Consequently, it was not possible to provide for analysis case studies based on the collection of strictly comparable data.

As for the interpretations, each author (following his brief) provided his own. Consequently, the unique features of each country's evolution were made explicit but again comparable frameworks for analysis and interpretation were not explicit in the original case studies. As the work progressed, and particularly during the seminar, frameworks emerged which should greatly facilitate the interpretation of comparative education data.

The need to establish more indices on the basis of which useful comparative data of a numerical kind could be collected was emphasized. There was no disagreement with the view that statistical information could help to widen and deepen understanding of educational terms. At the same time, it was accepted that many useful comparative investigations would not include any or much statistical evidence.

C. Comparative Interpretation

The case studies revealed marked differences of emphasis in the modes of argumentation and interpretation. A great deal of attention is given in debates in England to concepts of individual differences and to psychological theories which will help to justify (or destroy) selection policies. Much less interest was shown in the French, Swedish and German case studies. Perhaps theories of individual differences are still so widely accepted as to be hardly worthy of rigorous debate. However, justification for the postponement of differentiation in Sweden was in these terms. Very great attention was given in the French, English and Swedish case studies to theories of the "just" and "equal" society, although the relative homogeneity of Swedish society rather than the diversity within it was stressed. As for the bases on which knowledge can be acquired, the French case study showed how important the idea of its organization was in debates about school reform. To a less extent, this was the case in Sweden. Few arguments couched in these terms were given prominence in the English case study.

D. Demographic Influence

No systematic collection of vital statistics for each country was attempted. The well-known fact that immediately after World War II there was a baby boom, has been used frequently to show that in the early fifties pressure for admission to primary schools built up, in the late fifties and early sixties these pressures operated on second level schools and towards the end of the sixties, the number of young people seeking admission to the university had risen very greatly.

No comparable evidence of population movements within each of the countries was brought in a systematic manner to the notice of the seminar. No specific attention was given to the implications for education of these movements and in particular the drift into big urban areas or cities.

E. Postwar Trends and Issues

The expansion of educational provision has taken place in all countries. School leaving ages have been raised or seriously debated. More children have been enrolled in pre-primary schools and there has been an expansion in higher education.

Attempts have been made to democratize education. These have turned on proposals to reduce or eliminate structural differentiation at the second stage of education. The emergence of a common middle school to replace multi-partite systems of school types is discernible. In England, attempts have been made to create a variety of "comprehensive" schools - the London prototype being designed to enroll pupils from 11 years of age to 18. In Sweden, "comprehensiveness" has worked upwards - a nine-year common school having replaced a primary school followed by a number of different kinds of lower secondary schools. In France, efforts have been made to postpone selection at 11 years of age to 13 and then to 15.

Modernization is another issue which turns more on the reform of the curriculum than on the restructuring of school types. The forces operating to prevent changes in curricula are very powerful and are less susceptible to political pressures from outside the schools.

F. The Contribution of Political Science

In the literature of comparative education, considerable attention has been given to the forces of "nationalism" and political ideologies. Rather few detailed studies have been made in comparative terms of the ways in which policies are formulated, adopted and implemented. The central importance of such studies to any understanding of the processes of reform emerged very clearly during the course of the seminar. It was very clear that while in the European countries considered there was wide agreement on the issue of expansion there was much less consensus on questions of democratization and modernization. Comparative studies of the political processes involved in education began to emerge.

G. Sociological Studies

One feature of the immediate post-war debates was the demand for social justice. In England particularly, much research was designed to show that educational opportunities were closely connected with socio-class background. Less interest is now taken in this relationship than before and the seminar helped to establish frameworks which would facilitate more detailed sociological interpretations. The way in which sociological factors find political expression turned out to be a focus of analysis.

H. Economic Theory

Stress was laid on the way in which economists in the fifties and sixties had studied relationships between economic factors and education. The deterministic element in these investigations was criticized and the possibility that one to one relationships e.g. investment in education and per capita income, could have universal validity was rejected. The economists at the seminar stressed the need for a decision theory which would take into account not only economic theory but the way in which different groups in the population behaved and the opinions they held.

The difficulties and possibilities of refining the techniques of economic analysis on a comparative basis were discussed at length. It was emphasized that to base educational policy on one assumed relationship would be unwise.

I. Analysis of Educational Systems and Their Infra-Structure

It was evident that greater understanding of educational processes would be facilitated if more sophisticated systems of classification were established in comparative education. This would imply a more detailed analysis of (a) school systems, (b) the educational framework in which they operate and (c) the socio-economic and political milieu in which they are found. Some progress was made towards such improved systems of classification and the scope of more rigorous relationship studies was outlined.

II. Recommendations

A. Personnel

The practical value of comparative education studies in the field of technical assistance programs and the sphere of domestic reform justifies the funding of considerable sums of money into international education, in order to attract and train comparative educationists in the U.S.A., for work in universities, national agencies and international organizations. Younger workers should be attracted to the field by the development of career structures within comparative education.

B. Data Collection

Ways should be investigated of improving the collection of educational data by national and international agencies. Indices on the basis of which information can be collected need to be established and standards of comparability worked out. The resources which would be required to improve the collection of data are beyond those which can be provided by non-governmental agencies. Money should be made available for the development of appropriate agencies.

C. Comparative Education Research

Vital to an understanding of domestic issues and policies are comparative investigations. Much needed research of relationships within the educational system and between it and aspects of society outside education should be supported. Such research can most appropriately be developed in university comparative education centers where freedom of enquiry and evaluation would necessarily be greater than if the research into foreign education was carried out within a governmental organization.

D. International Cooperation

Ways should be found of increasing and improving international cooperation at the level of research in comparative education. Comparative Education Societies throughout the world should be supported in ways which will enable them more successfully than before to develop these forms of cooperation. Such collaboration may well be best established on the basis of inter-continental research projects in the first instance.

E. Interdisciplinary Research

The future of comparative education research depends in large measure on the degree to which comparative educationists can define their research projects and techniques in a way which will encourage political scientists, sociologists and economists to collaborate in planning and carrying through research. It is very important to avoid the assumption that relationships established by social scientists on the basis of evidence from one country hold, regardless of context, in other societies. In short, inter-disciplinary research, centered on comparative education, should be seen as a way of refining comparative arguments and of preventing their abuse.

F. Seminars and Conferences

International seminars and conferences can make a notable contribution to the improvement of techniques in comparative education, provided that they are based on careful preparatory work. Funds should be made available to engage young research workers from different countries on research projects, the findings of which would be discussed and disseminated at an international seminar and/or conference.

A. SEMINAR GUIDELINES

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL IMPLICATIONS:
CROSS-NATIONAL AND INTER-DISCIPLINARY
ANALYSIS OF EUROPEAN SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL REFORMS
A Post-Doctoral Seminar
Under the Funding of the Research Bureau
U.S. Office of Education
August 21-29, 1969
KENT STATE UNIVERSITY
KENT, OHIO
U.S.A.

PROPOSED SEMINAR GUIDELINES

Friday, August 22

Theme: General Problem and Trends, 1945-1969

First Day: Morning Session
Postwar Problems, Plans, Solutions and Trends in European Secondary Education

Setting the stage for the seminar, the opening session will focus upon the kind of problems educationists and policy-makers in Europe faced as the second world war drew to its close. This will be a general analysis of the problems and discussions which were carried on among allied ministers of education concerning plans to reconstruct education after the war. The immediate postwar policies will be outlined and reference made to the general conditions under which they were to be put into practice. The important issues are to be elaborated; the debates and positions of each national figure must be stated. Attention should be given to formal educational reform proposals and the factors which delayed or inhibited implementation.

Speakers: Dr. Joseph Lauwerys
Dr. Saul B. Robinsohn

Afternoon Session
Social, Political and Economic Conditions in Postwar Europe and Reform in Secondary Education

This will be a general analysis of the major social, political, and economic factors influencing developments in secondary European education after the second world war from the point of view of each of the three social scientists. The political scientist, for example, will devote particular attention to the political conditions, the balance of power between various political parties in England, France, Germany and Sweden; the contrasting educational policy-proposals; and any areas of agreement. The economist will analyze the general economic conditions under which educational reform was proposed; the availability of resources in view of reconstruction needs; the priorities that were set and the rationale for each. What were the sources of funds and the additional real resources? Features of economic recovery in various countries can be analyzed with some reference to the relationships between recovery and the investment in aspects of education. The sociologist will analyze social class relationships, the changing nature of the family, church, and other social factors which have influenced educational policy.

Speakers: Dr. Martin Trow (Sociology)
Dr. Paul Peterson (Political Science)
Dr. Jean Bowman (Economics)

Saturday, August 23

Second Day: Morning Session
Criteria for Selection of Data for a Cross-National and Inter-Disciplinary Analysis of European Secondary Educational Reforms

Selection of data on the basis of established criteria will be discussed in relation to the reforms of education in Europe. Indices of change are to be established. An elaboration should be attempted relative to the kind of content, both statistical and descriptive, which can be collected on a cross-national basis. Problems of equivalence in terms of information and sources must be analyzed. Difficulties encountered in the collection of comparable information will be stated. Gaps, in the data collected by various agencies, can be recorded and proposals to improve information services suggested.

Speakers: Dr. Helga Thomas
Dr. Detlef Glowka

Theoretical Interpretation of the Changes in Educational Policy in European Secondary Education

Based upon the case studies and other sources, what philosophical interpretation can be given for the changes? Some attempt should be made to show the relationships between proposed reforms and social-educational theory. Common theoretical ground should be indicated with major differences in rationale elaborated and explained.

Speaker: Dr. Paul Nash

Afternoon Session

Statistical Techniques in International Comparisons of Secondary Educational Reforms in Europe

Special reference will be made to statistical techniques and to international comparisons of educational systems based on statistical evidence. The possibilities of improving techniques will be discussed.

Speaker: Dr. C. Arnold Anderson

The Problem of Congruence of Interpretation of Data on Secondary European Educational Reform

An interpretation of change in various European countries will be made against a common European intellectual heritage. Philosophical justification for policies pursued in particular countries with different national traditions will be elaborated as well as the extent to which they reflect or are in contrast with the main European heritage. Possible rationales for secondary educational reform in England, France, Germany and Sweden will be suggested.

Speaker: Dr. Brian Holmes

Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, August 24, 25, 26, 27

Secondary Educational Change in Sweden, West Germany, France, and England

Each afternoon a session will be devoted to one of the national systems of education. Three themes are suggested as offering the best possibilities of giving coherence to the discussions which will be based in part on the national case studies prepared and submitted for the seminar.

The three themes proposed:

Educational Policy Making
Structural Reform and Reorganization
Curriculum Reform

1. Educational Policy Making

Some analysis should be made in each of the four countries of the national procedures utilized in securing reforms in education. The agencies responsible for aspects of policy formulation and adoption should be described and the extent of their authority should be detailed. Some of the practical difficulties associated with the implementation of accepted policies for effecting change should be examined. Reference should be made to the role of the political parties, professional associations, the bureaucracy, research organizations, etc.

2. Structural Reform and Reorganization

The specific changes and proposals to reorganize secondary education in each of the four countries should be outlined. References should be made to the origin of these plans, to the groups supporting them, and to the opponents of them. Theoretical justification for structural change should be given and the institutional innovations involved described. Some assessment of the effectiveness of the changes and the research that went into the formulation of policy and into the evaluation of the outcomes of reform should be attempted.

3. Curriculum Reform

Curriculum theory or the philosophical basis of curriculum reform and reorganization of subject content should be given. To what extent does the change break new ground, e.g. in epistemological and educational terms? What criteria is used for selection from among various traditional subjects? To what extent do the new criteria and theories determine new subjects, organization, teaching methods, evaluation techniques, etc? What should constitute the central or common core?

Swedish Presentation: Dr. Sixten Marklund
Respondents : Dr. C. Arnold Anderson
Dr. Detlef Glowka

West German Presentation: Dr. Saul Robinsohn
Respondents: Dr. William Brickman

French Presentation: Mr. M. Janicot
Respondents: Dr. William Halls
Dr. Helga Thomas

English Presentation: Dr. Edmund King
Respondents: Dr. Dennis Lawton
Dr. Andreas Kazamias

B. THE PROGRAM

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL IMPLICATIONS:
CROSS-NATIONAL AND INTER-DISCIPLINARY
ANALYSIS OF EUROPEAN SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL REFORMS
A Post-Doctoral Seminar
Under the Funding of the Research Bureau
U.S. Office of Education
August 21-29, 1969
KENT STATE UNIVERSITY
KENT, OHIO
U.S.A.

PROPOSED PROGRAM

Thursday, August 21:

6:00 p.m. Dinner
General Introductions
Kent State University Guests
-Dr. Read
U.S.A. Team - Dr. Anderson
European Team - Dr. Holmes

8:30-9:00 p.m. Intermission

9:00-10:00 p.m. The Seminar
Program, Rules & Procedures

Friday, August 22:

-Morning
8:30 a.m. - "Postwar Problems, Plans, Solutions, and Trends in European Secondary Education"
Speakers: Dr. Joseph Lauwerys
Dr. Saul B. Robinsohn
Discussion by social scientists and educationists

-Afternoon
2:00 p.m. - "Social, Political and Economic Conditions in Post-War Europe and Reform in Secondary Education"
Speakers: Dr. Martin Trow-
(Sociology)
Dr. Paul Peterson
(Political Science)
Dr. Jean Bowman
(Economics)
Discussion by social scientists and educationists.

Saturday, August 23:

-Morning

8:30 a.m. "Criteria for Selection of Data for a Cross-National and Inter-Disciplinary Analysis of European Secondary Educational Reforms"

Speakers: Dr. Helga Thomas
Dr. Detlef Glowka

Discussion by social scientists and educationists.

10:30 a.m. - "Theoretical Interpretation of the Changes in Educational Policy in European Secondary Education"

Speaker: Dr. Paul Nash

Discussion by educationists and social scientists

-Afternoon

2:00 p.m. "Statistical Techniques in International Comparisons of Secondary Educational Reforms in Europe"

Speaker: Dr. C. Arnold Anderso

Discussion by educationists and social scientists.

4:00 p.m. "The Problem of Congruence of Interpretation of Data on Secondary European Educational Reform"

Speaker: Dr. Brian Holmes

Discussion by educationists and social scientists

-Dinner: Summary of Theoretical and Conceptual Implications of Cross-National and Inter-Disciplinary Analysis

-Dr. Saul B. Robinsohn

Sunday, August 24:

-Morning is free

-Afternoon
Lunch with a faculty family and an afternoon of touring to Cleveland or Akron.

5:30 p.m. - Evening snack

6:30 p.m. - "Case Study of Swedish Secondary Educational Reform"
Speaker: Dr. Sixten Marklund
Respondents: Dr. C. A. Anderson
Dr. Detlef Glowka

Monday, August 25:

-Morning
9:00 a.m. - Discussion by educationists and social scientists.

-Afternoon
2:00 p.m. "Case Study of West German Secondary Education Reform"
Speaker: Dr. Walter Schultze
Respondents: Dr. William Brickman
Dr. Saul B. Robinsohn

Tuesday, August 26:

-Morning
9:00 a.m. Discussion by social scientists and educationists

-Afternoon
2:00 p.m. "Case Study of French Secondary Educational Reform"
Speaker: Mr. M. Janicot
Respondents: Dr. William Halls
Dr. Helga Thomas

Wednesday, August 27:

-Morning
9:00 a.m. - Discussion by social
scientists and educationists

-Afternoon
2:00 p.m. "Case Study of English
Secondary Educational Reform"
Speaker: Dr. Edmund King
Respondents: Dr. Dennis Lawton
Dr. Andreas Kazamias

Thursday, August 28:

-Morning
9:00 a.m. Discussion by social
scientists and educationists

-Afternoon
2:00 p.m. "A Second Look at Secondary
European Educational Reforms"
Speaker: Dr. Joseph Lauwerys

3:30 p.m. Summary comments on the
national case studies:
"The Theoretical and Conceptual
Implications of the National Case
Studies"
Speaker: Dr. Harold Noah

-Evening
6:00 p.m. - Farewell Dinner
Summary: Dr. C. Arnold Anderson
Dr. Brian Holmes

Farewell: Dr. Gerald H. Read

Friday, August 29:

- Departure to Cleveland and Akron
airports.

NOTES

1. The main outlines of the program were followed. Modifications were made however in the light of suggestions by participants.

2. The Saturday afternoon program was changed to enable Dr. Marklund to present for discussion his paper on Swedish Education.

3. Formal presentations at the evening sessions were cancelled.

4. Professor Arnold Anderson presented his paper in statistics on Thursday morning, August 28.

5. A summary of the work of the seminar in terms of the main developments in European secondary education since 1945 was made by Professor Joseph Lauwerys on Thursday afternoon, August 28.

6. Summary assessments were given by Professor Mary Jean Bowman, Professor Paul Nash, Professor Paul Peterson and Professor Martin Trow, on Thursday afternoon, August 28.

7. Professor Arnold Anderson and Dr. Brian Holmes acted as chairmen throughout the seminar.

C. MEMBERS OF THE SEMINAR

EDUCATIONISTS

ENGLAND

Dr. Andreas Kazamias
Prof. Educational Policy Studies
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dr. Edmund King
Reader in Comparative Ed.
King's College
University of London
London, England

FRANCE

Dr. William Halls
Tutor, Comparative Education
Oxford University
Oxford, England

Mr. M. Janicot, Director
Centre International d'Etudes
Pedagogiques
Sevres, France

GERMANY

Dr. William W. Brickman
Professor of Education
Graduate School of Education
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

SWEDEN

Dr. C. Arnold Anderson, Director
Comparative Education Center
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

Dr. Sixten Marklund
Bureau Director
The Royal Board of Education
Stockholm, Sweden

SOCIAL SCIENTISTS

PHILOSOPHY

Dr. Paul Nash
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Boston University
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Dr. Brian Holmes
Reader in Comparative Ed.
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University of London
London, England

SOCIOLOGY

Dr. Martin Trow
Professor of Sociology
University of California
Berkeley, California

Dr. Denis Lawton
Senior Lecturer
Institute of Education
University of London
London, England

ECONOMICS

Dr. Jean Bowman
Professor of Economics
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

Dr. Harold Noah
Professor of Comparative Ed.
Teachers College
Columbia University
New York, New York

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Dr. Paul Peterson
Ass't. Professor of Education
and Political Science
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

Dr. Saul B. Robinsohn
Director, Dept. of Education
Max Planck Institut
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Berlin 1, Wilmersdorf
German Federal Republic

COMPARATIVE EDUCATION CONSULTANT

Dr. Joseph Lauwerys
Professor of Comparative Education
University of London
London, England

RESEARCH CONSULTANTS

Dr. Detlef Glowka
Research Officer
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Max Planck Institut
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Dr. Helga Thomas
Research Officer
Institute for Ed. Research
Max Planck Institut
Berlin 1, Wilmersdorf
German Federal Republic

EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION AND ORGANIZATION CONSULTANT

Dr. Margherita Rendel
Lecturer in Education Administration
Institute of Education
University of London
London, England

ADMINISTRATIVE DIRECTOR

Dr. Gerald H. Read
Professor of Comparative Education
Kent State University
Kent, Ohio

U.S.A. ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

Dr. C. Arnold Anderson
Comparative Education Center
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

EUROPEAN ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

Dr. Brian Holmes
Reader in Comparative Education
Institute of Education
University of London
London, England

D. THE REPORT

This report is based upon papers presented before and during the seminar, notes taken by the principal reporter, Dr. Brian Holmes, and tapes of all the oral presentations and discussions which took place during the conference.

The program was changed somewhat during the course of the meeting when additional papers were also submitted. A full list of papers is given in Appendix IV.

Since the discussions were far ranging it has been impossible to include all the material in this report. Nor was it thought wise to follow the sequence of talks given at the seminar. Dr. Holmes has summarized some of the main papers and organized the material from the discussions on the basis of themes which were planned by the directors in a way which takes into account the main issues as they emerged.

He accepts full responsibility for the necessarily highly condensed summaries and hopes that in the process, distortion has not occurred and that the emphasis is in accordance with the intentions of each author. He wishes to thank Miss Brenda Vincent, M.A. of London, for helping to prepare, from a vast amount of information, the national case studies. These studies in their extended forms are, of course, available for consultation at Kent State University, Kent, Ohio.

The principal reporter wishes to thank Professor Gerald H. Read and Mrs. Marion Korllos for their help in preparing the report for submission.

-Brian Holmes

PART IV

CASE STUDIES

APPENDICES

As the seminar proceded, it became apparent that a number of themes were emerging from the working papers. One theme was how educational policy in the various countries was formulated, how and through what agencies it was adopted, and how and in what ways it was implemented. Discussions during the later stages of the seminar tended to turn on these themes and the directors decided that an attempt should be made to draw together data from the original case studies, the papers submitted by participants and the discussions under these three themes. Miss Brenda Vincent, M.A., of London, undertook to go through the material and organize it in such a way that comparisons between England, France and Germany could be made. The outcome of this work is presented in these appendices. From the information of interpretations provided by participants and in the light of frameworks of analysis developed prior to and during the seminar, a better understanding of the processes of reform can be gained. In addition, these combinations of data and analysis make possible some understanding of the somewhat different rates of progress towards somewhat similar goals.

These comparative studies are based upon material presented by participants. It has not been possible to credit each speaker with the ideas or even phrases which appear in these studies, but the authorship of substantial extracts is acknowledged thus:

W.D. Halls - W.D.H.
Aime Janicot - A.J.
Andreas Kazamias - A.K.
Edmund J. King - E.J.K.
Denis Lawton - D.L.
Sixten Marklund - S.M.
Paul E. Petersen - P.E.P.

In Appendix IV, a full list of papers presented before and during the seminar is given.

APPENDIX I

THE FORMULATION AND ADOPTION OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY

(Summaries of case studies from England, France and Sweden.)

Attention is drawn in this case study to (A) basic legislation, (B) the role of local or regional authorities, (C) the influence of the church, (D) the position of political parties, (E) government policies, (F) the power of the bureaucracy and (G) the strength of teachers and research workers.

It has not been possible to analyze the educational system in all its details or to relate the configuration of political forces to each of the issues mentioned.

I. Educational Policy Making - England

The administrative framework for reform in England and Wales was set out in the Butler Act of 1944, the most striking feature of which was the change in the conception of the role of the state in education. The Act provided for the appointment of a Minister who was authorized to set up administrative machinery within the central government. He was also charged with the duty of promoting the education of all the people and of developing educational institutions for that purpose, but the main shift of emphasis came in the relationship between the central government and the local authorities. The Minister's "powers" over local authorities were more "purposive" and direct than before. It was also the Minister's duty to see that local authorities, "under his control and direction," carried out national policy which was directed toward the provision of "a varied and comprehensive educational service in every area." A.K.

On the other hand, local education authorities (L.E.A.'s) were given wide powers. "They were required to contribute towards the spiritual, moral, mental, and physical development of the community by securing that efficient education throughout those stages (primary, secondary, and further education) shall be available to meet the needs of the population of their area." A.K. In addition, the Act tried to provide a structural framework that would synthesize "great initiative and rational direction."

Among other things, local authorities were directed (a) to draw up 'development plans' to implement the provisions of the Act; (b) to maintain and administer education in their areas, according to the Minister's standards; (c) to allocate funds and employ teachers; (d) to enforce attendance and see that parents carried out the duties placed upon them." A.K. Thus, the Butler Act conferred on local authorities "a major responsibility and considerable initiative in the government of national education" but the Minister's powers under the Act are potentially dictatorial.

"He had the duty to provide national education, and one of his functions was to decide policy and action; he was empowered to direct and compel local authorities to make changes, maintain standards, and to provide educational opportunities for all children according to their different ages, abilities, and aptitudes; he could arbitrate disputes involving local authorities, parents, managers, or governors; he was given considerable direct control over the building programs submitted by the L.E.A's; and, even in finance, he could exert influence on the total amount of money allocated by the government and made through the Ministry of Housing and Local Government." A.K. A new framework was also established in the 1944 Act to govern the relations between Church and State in education. "The 'Church-State' conflict over education had traditionally centered around two thorny problems: religious instruction in the schools supported by public funds, and public support of denominational schools. On the organization and government of education, the Act provided the following:

1. Schools established by the L.E.A.'s were to be known as county schools; schools otherwise established as voluntary schools.

2. There were to be three categories of voluntary schools: (a) controlled schools, (b) aided schools, and (c) special agreement schools.

3. Controlled schools were to be supported entirely by the L.E.A. which would also be responsible for the appointment and dismissal of teachers, but subject to consultation by the managers on the appointment of the Head teacher and of 'reserved' teachers.

4. An aided school was to be a school responsible for half of the cost of the structural improvement and external repairs, and in which managers would appoint the teachers.

5. Special agreement schools were schools which made proposals under a previous Act (Act of 1936). In such cases, the L.E.A. would pay not less than 50 percent and not more than 75 percent of the capital costs, and appoint and dismiss teachers 'subject to the managers to be satisfied as to the fitness and competence of the reserved teachers.'

And on religious instruction, it stipulated that:

1. In all state-aided schools (county and voluntary) the school day must begin with a 'collective act of worship' and religious instruction must be given subject to the Conscience Clause.

2. Religious instruction and worship in the county schools must not be 'distinctive of any particular denomination,' but must be conducted in accordance with a non-sectarian 'agreed syllabus' to be drawn up by representatives from the various important religions in each area, from the teachers' association, and from the L.E.A.

3. In all controlled schools denominational instruction might be given by reserved teachers twice a week; otherwise religious instruction was to be in accordance with an agreed syllabus.

4. In aided or special agreement, schools denominational religious instruction might be given in accordance with the trust deed.

The Concordat of 1944 is in force today, except that by the Education Act of 1959 grants payable to aided and special agreement schools can be increased to 75 percent. Counting all types of schools (aided, controlled, and special agreement), the churches still provide education for about 22 percent of the school-age population." A.K.

If the Churches have managed to maintain their position since 1944, the local authorities certainly have not. "The Ministry of Education and its successor, the Department of Education and Science, has grown in both status and complexity, and it has become one of the most vital agencies of the central government; the powers of the local authorities have correspondingly declined and educational policy has been enmeshed in political considerations and local conflicts of interest, the idea of 'partnership' is more apparent than real. For example, some local authorities refused to comply with Circular 10/65 (12th July, 1965) on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, and the Department had used all powers at its disposal to force compliance. This also illustrates the extension of the power of the central authority as well as the significance attached to the development of a national educational policy which only increased State interference and centralization could bring about." A.K. But, ultimately, the implementation of national policy still depends on the L.E.A.'s and, in the immediate post-war period, they began to submit development plans in accordance with the terms of the Act. "At the time, there were 146 local authorities. By 1950, about 3/4 of the plans had been submitted. Of those authorities which had drawn up such plans only a few (including London, not more than nine) favored reorganization on comprehensive lines. The rest, particularly the more numerous county boroughs, opted for some sort of tripartite organization." A.K.

At this time, a "partnership" could be said to have existed between the central government and the L.E.A.'s because the Ministry and the L.E.A.'s for the most part agreed on the tripartite system. In 1945, the Ministry issued three directives, two pamphlets and a circular, which "advocated the tripartite organization as a policy guideline." At the same time, the L.E.A.'s found that "the tripartite system fitted in very nicely, with the existing arrangements without necessitating costly, inconvenient and untried readjustments;" furthermore, they were reluctant to abandon the old familiar empirically tried institutions, especially the grammar school.

Since 1964, however, when the newly elected Labor Government decided to implement its election pledges and establish a national system of comprehensive schools, there has been a divergence of opinion between the central government and the L.E.A.'s. In the summer of 1965, the Department Education and Science issued circular 10/65 to L.E.A.'s, asking them to submit within a year a plan outlining the way in which comprehensive education could be introduced in their area.

"L.E.A.'s has a range of responses to the government circular ranging from outright refusal to reorganize (or even to submit a plan) through a slowly phased implementation of a comprehensive system to rapid development and implementation of a plan for a comprehensive educational system." P.E.P.

Thus, the actual extent of the powers of the central government over the L.E.A.'s is only now being fully tested and for the first time the practical difficulties in implementing a national policy are becoming apparent.

However, there has been and there continues to be a wide measure of agreement between the two main political parties, Conservative and Labor, on educational policy. The Education Act of 1944 was passed "in the name of equality and Social Justice", and both parties support the Welfare State as an abstract notion. In fact, "there is no fundamental conflict over ideology; the Conservatives and Labor politicians should rather be seen at different levels of the same ideology rather than as representatives of opposing ideologies." D.L. Thus, while both parties agree on the policy of equality of opportunity for everyone, they disagree on the types of institutions that are needed, if this policy is to be carried out. In the 1950's the Conservatives held to the view that the tripartite system and selection at 11-plus were the best methods of catering for diversity between children, although they were well aware of the fact that there was no "parity of system" among the secondary schools. In the 1960's, Conservative thinking has come round more to the idea of comprehensive education and in 1967, Mr. Edward Heath, Leader of the Opposition, in a speech to the Conservative National Advisory Committee on Education, set out the latest Conservative policy on education: "He said that 'we accept the trend of educational opinion against selection at 11-plus.' Some reorganization of the structure of secondary education was needed, according to him, but this should be left to the discretion of local education authorities. In some cases comprehensive schools 'may be the best answer,' Mr. Heath stated, 'but not in areas where a good grammar school already exists.' Judging from this most recent policy statement, one could conclude that while the Conservatives have accepted the overwhelming evidence against selection at 11-plus, as well as alternative types of secondary reorganization, they still adhered to the view that Grammar schools should be preserved and that adequate provision should be made for the brightest children. 'The Conservative Party,' according to Mr. Heath, 'remains firmly opposed to the rapid and universal imposition of comprehensive reorganization."[1] A.K.

Thus, the Conservative Leader arrived in 1967 at the point reached by the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party in 1950, when it published a statement, Labour and the New Society, in which it claimed that one way to achieve equality of opportunity was to have "common secondary schools for all children."[2] In 1956, C.A.R. Crosland, one of the labor leaders, published The Future Socialism in which he made a vigorous plea for equality and advocated the adaption of Comprehensive education as part of a Labor government's policy. Crosland put the same ideas forward in subsequent speeches and publications and "similar ideas as Crosland's were discussed and supported at party conferences, and in documents by Labor Party workers, sympathizers and others."

The Labor Party itself made similar suggestions about the reorganization of secondary education in policy documents like Learning to Live (1958) and Signposts for the Sixties (1961), until it won an overwhelming victory in the 1964 election after which it proceeded to put its plans into practice by issuing Circular 10/65, the avowed object of which was "to end selection at eleven plus and to eliminate separatism in secondary education."

Thus, it seems that where the Labor Party led, the Conservative Party is following, but neither party has exerted - or attempted to exert - pressure on the development of the curriculum. In fact, Eckstein argues that their influence on educational policy altogether is slight; he says, "Decision-making powers usually exercised by administrative departments are, generally speaking, of much more immediate and greater interest to British interest groups than the kinds of decisions made in Cabinet and Parliament." P.E.P. But the appearance of and the response to Circular 10/65 seems to indicate that the Labour Party at least aims to affect national education policies and furthermore, it seems to be succeeding to some extent.

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[1] Conservative Research Dept., Secondary Education For All, Old Queen Street Paper, August 1, 1967, pp. 6-12.

[2] Labour Party, Executive Committee, Labour and New Society: A Statement of the Policy and Principles of British Democratic Socialism, August, 1950 pp 4, 14-15.

"Churches have not relinquished their traditional role of influencing educational policy. Through educational policy committees, they have sought to improve the agreed syllabus for inter-denominational religious instruction and to combat what they consider to be excessive secularism and materialism in education." A.K. The teaching organizations, on the other hand, are almost totally unable to influence policy. "Teachers are divided among the Joint Four (which itself is divided among four associations), NUT, NAS, and numerous smaller but still important organizations," P.E.P. and until they achieve greater unity, L.E.A.'s will not feel obliged to take their views seriously. "L.E.A.'s do not need teacher advice, are assured of teacher acquiescence, and can hardly ever win full teacher approval." P.E.P.

On the other hand, "where perhaps education matters most - in the classroom and the curriculum - the headmasters and the teachers are the main arbiters and executors." A.K.

Another potential source of influence over education policies are the administrators. In a survey which Petersen carried out in Leeds, Brighton and Hounslow, he found: "The chief education officer (CEO or chief as he is known among educators) had varying degrees of influence over educational policy, much as superintendents of schools in the United States differ in their relationships to school boards. In Leeds and Brighton the CEOs had greater freedom of action than their counterpart had in Hounslow. The Brighton and Leeds CEOs had national reputations as well as particularly high educational qualifications. Hounslow's CEO was handicapped by the fact that he was less well known to his education committee." P.E.P.

If the influence of chief education officers on policy is difficult to determine, so is the effect of research findings. "Official reports, research studies, and general discussion on several aspects of the structure of secondary education abounded in the fifties. Among such aspects were the tripartite system of organization, units within that system (e.g., grammar achool and modern schools), units within schools (e.g., the sixth form), methods of selection, and comprehensive education. The ferment for change reached higher proportions in the sixties and, in one form or another, directly or indirectly, it bore upon secondary reorganization and the comprehensive principle." A.K.

Selection, especially selection at 11-plus came in for severe criticism on psychological, pedagogical and sociological grounds. "The general idea of selection was criticized for its 'intellectualistic bias' in that it put a premium on academic ability; the psychological tests tended to pick out a 'Moray House Elite' of pupils, 'who are best fitted to become clerks, civil servants, teachers, and other professionals,' and to keep down many who would make 'the best engineers, Army officer, businessmen, and politicians.' It was also criticized on the grounds that it segregated or streamed pupils by ability per se, thus stereotyping individuals on the basis of an unstable criterion that was established early in a child's life. Streaming or segregation carried out on this basis did not allow for fluctuations ('flowering' of the slow, and dropping back of the initially bright) due to changes in educational environments. A rather extreme argument was that any type of grouping, segregation or selection of pupils, particularly at the age of 11, was educationally undesirable; each individual is unique and education should be planned according to one's abilities, interests and aptitudes." A.K. Sociologists also criticized selection procedures.

"Studies of the social composition of grammar school students indicated that there was an over-representation of middle-class children relative to the social composition of the population at large. And this social imbalance, it was argued, was in large part a consequence of the class-biased selection procedures at the age of 11." A.K.

Apart from the findings of independent research, there are also the reports of various official committees which do seem to have some influence in the shaping of educational policy, although frequently it takes a long time before their influence is felt. For instance, the report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education, known as the Hadow Report of 1926, "called for compulsory education for everyone up to the age of 14, and as soon as possible up to the age of fifteen." This continuous process would be divided into two successive stages, primary and secondary; with the dividing line at the age of 11-plus. All normal children, according to the Hadow Committee, should be transferred from the primary to the secondary stage, the stage of adolescence. Henceforth, the focus was to be not on the selection of a minority into a separate system, but on selection of all normal adolescents into appropriate types of institutions all bearing the name of "secondary" and all based on certain uniform general principles. Echoing Hadow, the Spens Report of 1938 stated: "We consider that the prime duty of the secondary school is to provide for the needs of children who are entering and passing through the stage of adolescence." In 1943, the Committee of the Secondary School Examinations Council headed by Sir Cyril Norwood reiterated the same doctrines and the rationale upon which they were based. And, so did the White Paper on Educational Reconstruction of the same year. A.K.

Thus, the recommendations of the Hadow Report of 1926 came to fruition in the Education Act of 1944.

II. Educational Policy Making - France

The changes in the French system of education which were brought about by the decrees of 1959 affected the structure and methods of the French Secondary Schools, rather than the administrative framework.

"It is the principle of counseling and guidance, ultimately mandatory on the pupil, summed up in the convenient term 'orientation', which was the most striking feature of the new reforms. Any reform of education, however, demanded some reform of the outdated structure of the Ministry of Education in Paris. After a preliminary reorganization in 1960, in which the separation between elementary and secondary education was abolished, the present organization was established in 1964. The main divisions that concern secondary education are, first and foremost, the Directorate of Pedagogy, school education and orientation; second, the Directorate of teaching personnel - for general, technical and vocational education; third, the Directorate of administrative and social services; and lastly, the Directorate of administrative and social services; and lastly, the Directorate of school, university and sport equipment.

The Directorate of pedagogy, school education and orientation is obviously the key organization as regards secondary education. It reflects the concept of the unity of all schools, no matter to which particular level they belong. It also reflects the desire to deal nationally with the vital concept of orientation which, is of such importance in secondary education. A special sub-directorate has been established to deal with orientation: this has to ensure that school places of the right kind are available at all levels to receive pupils, and to coordinate this provision of school places with the needs of the economy." W.D.H.

A special corps of guidance counsellors has been established to help teachers in their work and it is made up of former teachers, who have been given specialized training and who are assisted by specialists, particularly doctors and psychologists. In addition, "A system of orientation committees at school level, area level, at the level of the 'department' and, at the pinnacle, one at ministerial level, has been set up hierarchically." W.D.H.

This hierarchical framework for orientation is in keeping with the centralized nature of French educational administration which "has meant that planning has been able to proceed on a rational basis. The setting up of a Commission Nationale de la Carte scolaire (National Commission for the School 'Map') was a necessary preliminary to the siting of schools. Its assignment was to define national priorities in relation to siting, to arrange school transport ('le ramassage') where necessary, and to coordinate school building programmes. At the tactical rather than the strategic level are Commissions Academiques, which deal with the 'académie', the educational administrative unit established by Napoleon which usually covers two or three 'departments'. For the first phase of secondary education, France has been divided up into 'sectors'. A sector may be rural, comprising a population of 5,000 - 6,000 inhabitants. On the other hand, it may be mixed urban-rural, serving the needs of as many as 10,000 inhabitants. Finally, in large urban areas there may be several sectors. The principle has been that no pupil has more than twenty kilometres to travel daily by school bus, although in some areas this may take as long as three quarters of an hour.

"For the second phase of secondary education, the sector does not constitute a large enough unit. Thus a new unit, covering several sectors of the 'district', was conceived. This must be sufficiently large to contain within its boundaries the various school types of 'long' and 'short' secondary education of the second phase. Its total population varies between 75,000 and 150,000 inhabitants, but its territorial size is obviously a function of its population density.

"A large area of French secondary education is, however, not under the direct control of the Ministry of Education at all. In general secondary education, 776,965 pupils were in private schools, as against 1,481,041 in State schools: thus one-third were being educated outside the State system. (Figures from Information Statistiques, Paris, No. 95 of September 1967.) In secondary technical education: 316 per cent of pupils were in a private 'short' secondary education and 17 per cent were in private 'long' secondary education. Much of this private education is in the hands of the Catholic Church, particularly in those areas where religious observance is most strict. It is the right of confessional schools to continue to exist, or if so, to receive State aid, which in the past has been most called into question." W.D.H.

The reforms in French education have a dual purpose to satisfy the growing 'social demand' for education and to cater for the needs of the economy.

"There is no doubt that one of the main considerations in the reform of secondary education has been for the government the increased well-being that it is considered with accrue to the nation as a whole.

"The vital link between educational needs and the needs in trained manpower of the economy is the work of the Commissariat Général au Plan, which works through a number of commissions. Since 1951, a special commission for education, the Commission de l'Equipement scolaire, universitaire et sportif, initially presided over by M. Le Gorgeu, has been an integral part of the central planning organization. Now presided over by M. Lusry, the Commission's closest partner among the other commissions has been that for manpower needs. With this commission, it formed a combined group known at Intergroupe Formation-Promotion professionnelle (Inter-group for training and occupational advancement). The education commission also constituted a number of sub-commissions for estimating pupil numbers, investments required, teaching personnel needs, and civil and social services dealing with education, youth and sports.

"The relation of education to the economy can be considered in two ways. There is firstly the number of young people entering the labour force at any one time, and their disposition within it; secondly, and in relation to strictly educational planning, there is the provision of the institutions and facilities necessary to give them the training appropriate to their future employment." W.D.H.

But the planning commission can only recommend; it is the government which implements policy. For example: "By the ordinance of 6 January 1958, it was decreed that the compulsory leaving age should be raised to fifteen in 1967 and sixteen in 1968. But the Commission considered that to enforce the new leaving age was useless unless the new structures from this phase of education were complete. Since the new structures would not be set up everywhere until the end of the Fifth Plan, and consequently not until the school year beginning 1972, it recommended - and the government agreed - that the raising of the leaving age be postponed till then." W.D.H.

In this case, then, the government acted on the advice of the commission but the rate of expenditures on education is also the concern of the government.

"The total educational budget of the Fifth Plan represents an expenditure of 25 milliard francs over a period of five years. This is the sum finally approved by the government. The planning commissions, however, had first estimated that 34 milliard francs were necessary." W.D.H.

Thus, one of the big difficulties of implementing plans as ambitious as those of France is the incredibly high cost. Education is competing with the other social services for a share of the national budget and as Halls says: "Housing and other social services are sometimes preferred to education." Nevertheless, there has been a "colossal rate of increase in educational expenditure."

"Whereas before 1955 the money spent on education represented less that 10 per cent of the total national budget, by 1966 it had risen to 17.85 per cent. In fact, if some items such as agricultural education had been included, the proportion would have exceeded 20 per cent. It is doubtful if any national economy in Western Europe could spend more, without detriment to other urgent tasks. Thus the Plan, as modified by the government, represents a reasonable expectation of what the French economy can bear, although it falls far short of the ideal." W.D.H.

The increasing school population has also presented difficulties, which are largely financial. "In the period 1944-1966, the population has increased by ten millions, or 25 per cent, an average of over one per cent per year. Two-thirds of this increase is ascribable to the higher birth rate, and one third to immigration, principally from the former French Community, and in particular of the 'pieds noirs' from Algeria. The total population has just topped fifty millions. However many difficulties in the French education system in recent years have arisen not so much from the population increase in itself, but from the age structure of the population.

"Nevertheless, the relationship between the 'explosion in the schools' and the demographic explosion is more apparent than real. The catastrophic fall in the birth rate after World War I effectively camouflaged the expansion in school attendance that was taking place. From 1950 onwards, the rise in the birth rate was an additional factor in the rise in school attendance, with not only more children involved in the educational process, but also more children staying on at school. Although the birth rate has now steadied, the rise in school attendance, as reflected in the fact that more children leave school later, continues." W.D.H. Thus, the planning commissions have to plan for a number of children which is constantly and incalculably growing.

Furthermore, centralization may make it easy to plan on national scale but it also "Means that the professor is in the end responsible only to authorities which are anonymous and distant, and all the more ineffective and slow, because they are organized on bureaucratic lines." A.J.

Thus, all the efforts of the planners may count for little in the actual classroom situation over which little control is exercised. "The politicization of education - by which is meant the action of a political group seeking to draw under its influence or control a segment of the education system - has taken various forms in different countries. In France, it has crystallized around the issue of religion. The salient fact in regard to the French education system is that, in the public sector, it has been dominated by those imbued with a Republican ideal, which has tended to be identified with anti-clericalism, expressed in education as a fierce will to curb the rights and privileges of Catholics, who being first on the educational scene, might have some claim for special treatment.

"The parties of the Right, as well as more moderate groups such as the M.R.P. and Catholic trade unions and professional associations, have taken up the cudgels on behalf of 'freedom in education'. Doctrinally, the Church is charged with guiding the destiny of the individual, but its mission is not merely to ensure that all children whose parents so desire are instructed in the faith. It must also see that all this is taught in conformity with Catholic doctrine, and education has the task of inculcating Christian attitudes, which implies a Christian atmosphere. But the Catholics tend to base their arguments less on Christian principle and more on concrete grounds of social justice and the public utility of their schools. At the present time, it would be impossible for the state to provide a complete network of schools in those areas at present serviced by the Catholics. On the other hand, the Catholics are finding it increasingly difficult to finance their schools, since the cost of education has risen enormously. Hence, of recent years, the debate has tended to crystallize round the question of financial aid to the confessional schools." W.D.H.

"Among the opponents of Catholic schools, two groups need to be distinguished. There are the exponents of 'laicisme' - in the out-and-out secularizers, who wish for a complete State monopoly of education, and the exponents of 'laicité' which merely holds that the State should exercise strict neutrality." W.D.H. Catholic schools are opposed for social, religious and constitutional reasons. First, they are often supported by the rich middle class who do not wish their children to associate with lower-class children in the public schools. "Thus 'two nations' are perpetuated - an argument that is equally applicable to the private sector in English education. Moreover, the children, the secularists argue, must be protected against indoctrination at an age when they are not yet able to protect themselves. The atmosphere in Catholic schools is too often hostile to the Republican ideal and thus against the spirit of the Constitution. Textbooks in such subjects as history, philosophy, biology and geography are biased or even hostile to democratic ideals. The association in the past of Catholics with rightist or even Fascist movements has made their loyalty to Republicanism suspect." W.D.H.

Some of the strongest supporters of the republican ideal are to be found among the 'instituteurs' and although their influence has waned considerably under the present regime, teachers have always been very active, usually on the left, in French politics. The most important teacher pressure group is the Fédération de L'Education Nationale. "The membership of this body comprises practically all the non-graduate teachers, many secondary teachers, and a few teachers in higher education - some 50,000 in all. The federation, although it comprises some forty member unions and is therefore structurally different, therefore occupies approximately the same position as the N.E.A. in the U.S.A. or the N.U.T. in the United Kingdom. The largest component of the federation is the Syndicat National des Instituteurs (SNI). The other most important constituent unions are the SNES (for secondary teachers), the SNET (for technical teachers) and the SNESUP (for teachers in higher education). It is therefore apparent that the SNI, constituting the largest proportion - some three quarters of the federation - can command an absolute majority.

"The broad general policy of the FEN may be summed up as being in favor of the 'Republic', in the sense that the Third Republic used the word. It stands for the defence of civil liberties, human rights and a constructive form of socialism which works against discrimination, particularly in educational matters. It favors economic socialism, and its natural political allegiance is nearest to that of the traditional French Socialist Party, the SFIO, although, since it believes in reformist syndicalism, the FEN has no organizational links with any party. Although divided on many educational matters, its members are united on the problem of secularism - 'laicité' - in education. It supports secularism, and goes beyond the mere 'neutrality' of the schools in religious matters to show itself sometimes as not only anticlerical, but rationalist and humanist. On the specific issue of institutional pluralism it is not only against State aid to Catholic schools, but in favor of their nationalization. It seeks to ensure that the complete separation of Church and State is meticulously respected. Its policy is one of democratization, which is defined in terms of social justice and equality. Translated into practical terms, this means, for the federation, the observance of the principle of secularism, the adoption of counselling and guidance procedures, particularly for the culturally disadvantaged, and an increase in the number of teachers. Its other twin pillar of reform may be summed up in the word modernization. Education must keep pace with societal needs. Thus structures should be rationalized to allow easy transfer between the various branches of the educational system. The curriculum should take more account of scientific and technological requirements, new methods should be adopted and more schools, particularly technical ones, should be built. The first attempt of the de Gaulle regime at reform was greeted with disappointment, one of the federation's leaders describing it as 'segregationist' and 'profoundly reactionary'. But there has been greater general acceptance of the reforms as they have developed." A.J.

"But such an institution, with a large number of constituent members, is also subject to strong internal pressures, and the classes between the SNI and SNES, its two most important members, have at times been intense. The SNI seeks to defer differentiation within the secondary school for as long as possible. The SNES broadly supports this, but wants to safeguard against a lowering of standards by not taking into the 'top' sections of the C.E.S. too broad a band of ability. The two unions have also disagreed violently on salary matters, as is usual within mass organizations. The SNI have always sought 'across the board' increases with as little differentiation within the salary scale as possible, whereas the SNES desire 'hierarchised' differentials which will distinguish their work more clearly from that of the members of the SNI. Other clashes have been concerned with the length of the school holidays - the 'instituteur' has often had less holiday than the 'professeur'.

Standing outside the FEN, the Société des Agrégés is even more resistant to change than the SNES. It has only been half-hearted in its support of democratization, believing as it does, in the selection of an elite, but failing to realize that any selection mechanisms must inevitably be class-biased. It has now concentrated on the defense of the 'lycée' proper. By a majority which has increased every time its members have been polled, the association has affirmed, in fact, that it sees henceforth the proper function of its members as that of teaching in the baccalaureat or post-baccalaureat classes of the 'lycée', or in higher education. Whilst it has now come to accept the educational reforms, this attitude is due in part to its growing realization that the traditional rights of its members may not be unduly affected by them." W.D.H. However, in the classroom a teacher is his own master and he may organize it as he likes; "with the exception of the scientific disciplines and of course in the final year of secondary study, a teacher may take all the liberties which he wishes with his program." A.J.

Equally, administrators in France have more room for maneuver than the centralized organization seems to allow at first sight, since "it is always possible either to interpret the law, or to play with its complications, indeed its contradictions, or even not to take it into account.

"And if the administrator does not dare interpret, does not know how to play, or is afraid of resisting, there are always the Ministry's circulars which offer him the occasion to do it without risk. A typical example is the circular concerning the obligatory prolonging of schooling which in a little paragraph invites school superintendents to apply the law only when local conditions permit it.

"In sum, one can assert that any teacher who dares, any administrator who dares, can do what he likes, at his risk, the latter being moreover rather than limited." A.J.

Unofficial pedagogical research also exercises a considerable influence on those teaching and even the Ministry of National Education cannot fail to feel its effects. The Ministry consults these independent researchers; it employs a certain number of former militants from the pedagogical movements; it invites researchers to sit on ministerial commissions and it feels the effects of the press campaigns which these movements, particularly the Défense de la Jeunesse Scolaire, launch from time to time. "The first of these movements in age and importance is the one whose voice is the Cahiers Pédagogiques.

Created after the Second World War, the Cahiers Pedagogiques mouthpiece of "professor for professors' having on the cover of its issues: 'although published since 1964 by the National Pedagogical Institute, the Cahiers Pedagogiques are not an official publication,' have been very closely associated with the instructional reform of the 'New Classes' since 1945. Madame Hatinguais, Director of the International Centre for Pedagogical Studies, was the president of the movement, and it had a faithful friend in Monsieur Monod, Director of Instruction for the Second Degree.

"Beginning in 1952 (to be exact, after the circular of May, 1952 from Monsieur Brunold, Monsieur Monod's successor) the Cahiers Pedagogiques assumed a certain reserve in relations with the Ministry, and this distance continued to grow with the beginning of the de Gaulle regime.

"Then in 1963, the Manifesto for National Education was published, which stirred up lively protests in the Ministry and a wave of enthusiastic approval among professors.

"Subsequent to this Manifesto, there were organized 'Circles of Educational Research and Action' intended to constitute the marching flank of the Cahiers Pedagogiques by creating in each teaching establishment local nuclei for the transformation of teaching in which by means of a basically local and daily action teachers, students, and parents would try to change first the milieu in which they live and act. A touching reaction, perhaps a backward one, perhaps an avant-garde one, on the part of teachers who refuse reform imposed on them from above. At the present time, the activity of the Cahiers and of the Circles of Educational Research and Action, manifests itself in several manners:

1. Publication of the Cahiers. There are 15,000 subscribers, but since all teaching institutions are subscribers, many individual teachers who are not subscribers read this periodical. Approximately ten issues appear annually.

2. Stimulation of local Circles for Educational Research and Action.

3. Organization of teachers' meetings (about ten meetings annually for an average of 50 teachers).

"Many other organizations are also moving in the direction of teaching reforms, and to varying degrees, they are influencing the government's policies regarding education. Along with these teaching organizations, it is possible to find pedagogues and associations which diffuse to teachers with ever-increasing success the theories and practice of group dynamics, of non-directivity and of other research which comes to us directly from Kurt Lewin and Carl Rogers.

Finally, in the last few years, numerous organizations have grown up whose activity is centered on group animation.

But little official research has been carried out on the question of the 'democratization of education', although it is one of the repeated aims of the French reform. "In comparison with England, when research studies on this question had their sociological heyday in the late 1950's, the research in France upon this question started later, and is much less complete. (The most thorough studies have been those carried out by the Institut National des Etudes demographiques)." W.D.H. In addition, the planning commission conducts or initiates research, but its concern is with the economic aspects of educational policy rather than it sociological or psychological effects.

III. Educational Policy Making - Sweden

In Sweden, as a consequence of the general demand for longer compulsory education and the increased recruitment to voluntary education, an extensive reform of the educational system was begun in 1940, and is expected to continue until about 1970. But interest has centered on the structure of the system rather than its administrative framework.

The reform years, 1940-70, may be divided into three periods, of about a decade each. Each began with an extensive official investigation, and these three investigations characterize the measures and debates during the period.

The 1940's may be called an investigation period, beginning with the 1940 Committee of Inquiry, which in spite of the war and general feeling of insecurity, took responsibility for several of the great problems of education.

The 1950's may be described as an experimental phase. The official investigation on which the work was based was the report made in 1948 by the 1946 School Commission on the future organization of the Swedish school system. It was on the basis of this report that Parliament, in 1950, decided that experimental work was to be started on the new nine-year compulsory school.

The 1960's are a period of transition to the new system of education. This phase was begun with the 1957 School Committee, whose proposals in 1961 of a more definitive design for the nine-year school were accepted and confirmed by Parliament in 1962. After having the upper secondary education carefully investigated by a special committee during 1960-63, Parliament decided on a new 'gymnasium' and a new type of two-year secondary school ("Fackskola") in 1964. And according to another decision by Parliament in 1968, these two types of senior secondary schools will, together with a regularly two-year vocational education, form another new 'comprehensive gymnasium'. This school will start in 1971.

The educational policy behind the goals of the school during the post-war years was formulated first by State committees. The Swedish Committee system is probably unique, at least as far as schools and education are concerned. In no other country with comparable cultural and economic standards reforms of education seem to have been preceded by such thorough-going preparatory work as in Sweden.

The terms of reference for such committees are given by the Government, often after a decision in parliament. In respect of schools and instruction, the terms of reference are issued from the Ministry of Education. A committee is led by a prominent politician or civil servant. It has a permanent secretariat; the chief secretary is in charge of the immediate work, and to help him he has one or several groups of experts.

A committee usually consists of five to twelve members, all of whom are appointed by the Government. Normally, these members include representatives of each of the four large political parties of Sweden. In addition, there are usually representatives of the school administration, teachers and educational research.

The first committee, the Committee of Inquiry, was appointed by the National government during the Second World War and it sat from 1940 - 1947. Its terms of reference were to make a complete survey of general education in all its aspects. "The Committee of Inquiry devoted its first report to the tasks of the school at present:

> The aim of instruction at school must be restricted mainly to giving young people the tools with which, after they have left school, they can extend their knowledge. To give pupils good knowledge of and skill in reading, writing, mathematics and languages must, therefore, be the primary object of teaching. Side by side with this, pupils should be given a good foundation for their general education in the arts and natural sciences and, as far as circumstances permit, a comprehensive introduction to social problems.

"It also proposed the establishment of compulsory eight-year schools with two stages of four years each: a lower, undifferentiated stage called the elementary school and a higher differentiated stage called the junior modern school.

"From the very beginning of the work of the Committee of Inquiry, it was obvious that the work of investigation would be taken over by a political commission. This commission was appointed in 1946, that is to say while the Committee of Inquiry was still sitting. The 1940 Committee's report and proposals were thus of great importance as basic material for later work, which eventually led to the establishment of the present comprehensive school." S.M.

The School Commission's proposal for a compulsory, nine-year state-supported municipal comprehensive school organized in three, three-year stages, was presented to Parliament in 1950. In the special committee appointed to prepare this important matter there were differences of opinion which led to a compromise which was later accepted by Parliament. According to this compromise, the new nine-year school was to replace the elementary school and the old continuation school, the higher elementary school and the general junior modern secondary school. Girls' schools and the practical junior secondary school were therefore excepted.

"That the solution was a compromise was further stressed by the emphasis laid on the experimental work which was to precede and prepare the establishment of the new school.

"From 1957, a new political committee, the 1957 School Committee, was appointed with the principal task of evaluating the experiments made, and to recommend a definitive program of school attendance up to the age of sixteen years. This resulted in a decision in parliament in 1962 regarding the nine-year comprehensive school. The committee considered, however, that this construction of the school required certain immediate changes in the higher secondary schools. It was therefore proposed that a new type of two-year higher secondary school should be created. In this way, the continuation school was introduced and, by a parliamentary decision in 1964, given three streams, a social sciences, an economics and a technical stream. But the conclusion must not be drawn that education is controlled completely by the central authorities.

Planning, i.e. the work of preparation, the actual realization and evaluation of the new types of schools, has, it is true, been mainly the province of the highest political instances, but the planning itself has been decentralized to a regional and local level. Since 1958, there has been a special authority in each county. The County Board of Education whose chief task is to plan the various kinds of education within the region. In each municipality (school district) there is also, subordinate to the education authority, a local planning organization. The Ministry of Education, that is to say, the highest political authority, is responsible only for important questions of principles and finance. The bulk of the central planning is in the hands of the National Board of Education, which is the central authority for schools.

Although there is a state church in Sweden, the country is highly secularized and the Church plays no part in the decision-making. The objective of education in religion is that "religious instruction should be based mainly on Christianity, but still be objective -- ie., should not seek to impose doctrinal beliefs on the pupils. Pupils belonging to other denominations or religions are entitled to receive the religious instructions of their own church in the place of that given by the school." S.M.

There were difficulties in implementing the Swedish educational policy in the 1950's, particularly with regard to the establishment of the experimental schools, which "were faced with great difficulties. Textbooks and other teaching aids and material left much to be desired. At first, it was necessary to improvise or take what was used in the junior secondary school. There was a serious shortage of premises and teachers. All these difficulties were aggravated by the bulge in the number of children of this age. At the beginning of the 1940's about 100,000 children were born each year. Suddenly the number of births increased to a peak of 135,000 during the years 1944-45, after which it declined, to become stable at almost 100,000.

"The effects of the 'bulge' on the experimental schools were far-reaching. Parents and pupils wanting a junior secondary school education, but being referred to experimental schools, transferred the aims of the former to the latter. The experimental school was assessed according to how well it could stand comparison with the old kind of school. Those working in the experimental schools found this comparison a serious obstacle in the way of a free and unprejudiced trial of the new school. The danger was not, naturally, in the comparison as such, but in the fact that the valuations were made exclusively from junior secondary school standards. The non-theoretical streams of the upper department of the comprehensive school were ignored, and teachers thought it risky to try out new and freer methods of work." S.M.

Teachers, too, were in short supply in the "bulge" years, especially subject teachers and"in 1955 a system of further training was introduced to turn elementary school teachers into subject teachers in the upper departments of the experimental comprehensive schools. Further training comprised university studies, and special promotion courses (later called 'further training courses') arranged by the National Board of Education. These measures helped to reduce the shortage of teachers." S.M.

The problem of differentiation in the experimental schools attracted most attention. In fact, "One of the most difficult problems in educational reform has been, in the whole of Europe, that of differentiation, i.e. whether students are to be grouped in different lines of study (e.g., theoretical and practical), when such a grouping shall be made, and how it is to be made. Traditionally, the problem has been regarded as one concerned with teaching only. By the reform of education, it became mainly a social problem.

"By the autumn of 1951, the first experimental schools had advanced as far as the seventh class. From then onwards, the problem of differentiation in the upper department was the focus of interest in the debate. Until May 1962, when Parliament came to a final decision on the nine-year comprehensive school, other problems, often interesting and important ones, were pushed relentlessly aside in favor of the problem of differentiation. On the issue of differentiation, Politicians and teachers were often opposed to each other. The former wanted late differentiation, and latter wanted to separate the students in their eleventh year." S.M.

But most differences are resolved through the Swedish committee system. The fact that on the committees here are representatives of school administration, teachers and educational research as well as of the main political parties, all working together, "has proved to be of great value for the later success of the recommendations on the political plane, and also among heads of schools, teachers and research workers." S.M.

The Committees' recommendations and other important proposals are also circulated to various bodies in society by the Minister of Education. "Within a given period, usually three to six months, these bodies report their views and suggested amendments to the Government. In an important proposal referring to education, this means that all local and regional education authorities (or a representative sample of them) give the Government their views. In the same way, the teachers' unions and the student's organizations give their opinions, as well as the central labour organization (LO) and the confederation of employers (SAF). Parents' organizations, political youth movements, the universities and other State boards (e.g. the Social Welfare Board and the Labour Market Board) give their opinions, too.

"Opinions and proposed amendments are then collected and arranged by the Ministry of Education, and reported in the proposal normally presented to parliament. Thus, the circulation of recommendations for criticism precedes the actual political discussion of the question in parliament. It is regarded as an important item of the democratic process and a guarantee of full public control of how a decision is arrived at." S.M.

Somewhat less democratic is the influence exercised by the National Board of Education. "This kind of central authority may be mentioned as something typically Swedish. The Swedish State bureaucracy, which can be traced back to the 17th century, has always had a strong position and - in spite of its being non-political - has always played a prominent part in important decisions. The standing of bureaucracy has begun changing during recent years, however, due to among other things, the boundary between political and administrative decisions becoming less distinct." S.M.

Policy-making in Sweden has also been influenced by the findings of research workers. For example, research has been carried out in the problem of differentiation. John Elmgren's study of aptitude in pupils aged eleven to sixteen was undertaken "at the request of the 1946 School Commission, which regarded the correlation between theoretical and practical gifts as support for the late differentiation of pupils into streams.

In 1960, Kjell Harnquist made a similar study for the 1957 School Committee and his "results were of the same fundamental importance for the 1957 School Committee as Elmgren's had been for the 1946 School Commission. Another Swedish research worker, Ragnar Hornfeldt, came to the same conclusions as Harnquist in a report, published in 1950, on an investigation of the level and structure of intelligence. Hornfeldt found a marked variation between intra- and inter-individual variations.

"The results arrived at by these three scientists favor, on the whole, late differentiation. It should be borne in mind, however, that the studies do not say, how this late differentiation should be organized and how the need for individualization before differentiation can be satisfied in practice." S.M.

"Another group of investigations was concerned with the acquisition of knowledge. In the comparisons of knowledge made in 1953 and 1954 by the National Board of Education between experimental schools and junior secondary schools, the junior secondary school pupils achieved better results. In so far as the two types of schools were comparable, the result was evidence in favor of early differentiation. One consequence of these comparisons was that pupils from experimental schools needed higher marks than junior secondary school pupils for entrance to senior secondary schools." S.M.

No really interesting investigations were published in the years 1955-60 but in 1962, Nils-Erik Svensson "published the results of a series of comparisons of knowledge between pupils in different differentiation situations in classes 4 to 9. The results were, generally speaking, the same for the classes in the different groups. A slight superiority in the positively differentiated classes during the early phases of the investigation was neutralized towards the end." S.M.

Similar investigations were carried out by Sven Jansson (1961) and by Gunner Marksjo (1962) and both found that the differences in marks between integrated and differentiated classes were small.

A third group of investigations was made to elucidate other effects on pupils. "Ingvar Johanneson (1960) made a study of the pupils' social development in various differentiation environments. David Magnusson (1960) compared pupils' assessments of themselves in different types of school. Jansson, in the investigation mentioned above, also made comparisons of pupils' feeling of well-being at school, their choice of school friends, and their choice of subjects in integrated upper department classes and in classes differentiated according to choice of subjects. Some differences were observed, and interpreted in favor of the latter. Jansson also asked the teachers their opinions about differentiation. They all preferred classes differentiated according to choice of subjects, to integrated classes.

"In a larger study made on behalf of the National Board of Education (Sven-Eric Henricson, 1961), 413 teachers of different categories were asked to make the same choices as in Jansson's work. In one respect the result was the same as in Jansson's study: the teachers considered that the integrated classes were more of a burden than classes differentiated according to choice of subjects. Otherwise, the National Board of Education study gave a much subtler picture of teachers' experiences and views on the advantages and disadvantages of the two types of class in different subjects and at varying levels of intelligence. One hundred thirty-three teachers said that they preferred the integrated upper department, and 107 preferred the organizationally differentiated; 89 considered that they were equal and 84 did not answer." S.M.

In addition, special experimental schools were set up to try out new methods and new forms of instruction. "Work in the special experimental schools was not begun until the school year 1958/59. Then the State Experimental School was established at Linkoping, too late, however, to contribute greatly to the solution of the educational and organizational problems of the comprehensive school." S.M.

In fact, scientific research seems to have contributed little to the experimental work at the upper department level of the Compulsory school. "The prime importance of the investigations is probably that they have contributed to the dispersal of a number of prejudices and shown that the problems are more concerned with opinions than facts. In the last analysis the reform of education is a political question. None of the various types of differentiation has been shown to be superior to others. As far as acquisition of knowledge by pupils is concerned, it is becoming increasingly clear that the differentiation model is of subordinate importance, or that its importance is only secondary since it provided the framework for different forms of study and work. Then it is necessary to discover where different forms of study and work lead. It is probably in this that the greatest cause of the differences will be found. There is good reason therefore to make forms of study and instruction the prime tasks of educational research." S.M.

APPENDIX II

THE REORGANIZATION OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE SECOND STAGE OF EDUCATION

(Summaries of case studies from England, France and Sweden)

In these case studies reference is made to basic legislation related to the reorganization of the second stage of education. The main principles of reform are outlined and the practical plans flowing from these principles are described. Some assessment is made of the success in implementing reform policies.

Some assessment of the line-up of forces and the influence of research on the issue of school reorganization is made.

I. Structural Reform and Reorganization - England

The English 1944 Act laid down the principle of secondary education for all, but it did not specify the types of secondary schools to be provided by the local authorities. In fact, it "did not go beyond the general terminology of primary and secondary stages which it defined in terms of chronological age: primary education for children who had not reached the age of 12 years (in 1948 amended to 10 years 6 months), and secondary education for children between the ages of 12 (after 1948, 10 years and 6 months) and 19. However, there is every reason to believe that at the time of the Education Act many people had tripartitism in mind as the institutional framework for future secondary reorganization. But it should be stressed that other types of organization were being seriously advocated by several bodies and individuals. ...The multilateral and comprehensive ideas were very much in the air after 1945 by which time it was becoming quite clear that the government was pushing for a tripartite arrangement." A.K.

Most local authorities were only too willing to fall in with the Ministry's ideas and "by the early 1950's, therefore, it can be said that tripartitism had been firmly established as the pattern of secondary organization." A.K.

There was no declared change in national policy until the appearance of Circular 10/65. "In it the government unequivocably declared that its objective was to "end selection at eleven plus and to eliminate separatism in secondary education." The Secretary of State requested local authorities "to prepare and submit to him plans for reorganizing secondary education in their areas on comprehensive lines." A.K.

Since Circular 10/65 was issued, local education authorities have been drawing up plans for reorganization. "Of the 163 local education authorities, 116 had produced plans for comprehensive schooling which had been implemented or approved by the end of 1968; 89 of these reorganization schemes introduced comprehensive development to the whole or greater part of their areas, and 27 to a smaller part. All but 3 of the other 47 authorities had already prepared schemes that were under consideration. The Department of Education and Science indicated that the 748 comprehensive schools in October 1968 would have swelled to 1,180 within three years." E.J.K. By 1965, however, there were six different types of comprehensive organizations: "the most widely-known type was the orthodox comprehensive plan. This provided for the education of all children between the ages of eleven and eighteen within one building. The major difficulty with the orthodox comprehensive plan was establishing it in small schools. Successful orthodox comprehensive schools, it was generally believed, should provide for no less than one thousand pupils, twice as many as could be accommodated in most British schools. An obvious solution was to divide students into two groups, sending the younger students to one school and the older to another. Such an arrangement was known as the two-tier plan.

This plan had two distinct variations. Two tier selective separated the children according to their ability at the age of thirteen, thus maintaining after that age the grammar-modern distinction. Comprehensive schooling in such a plan took place for only the first two years of secondary education. It was a more modest educational reform than the orthodox comprehensive plan. Two-tier non-selective, however, did not separate children at thirteen. All pupils of that age advanced to the same senior high school regardless of their ability; this non-selective two-tier plan approximated the junior-senior high school arrangement found in many parts of the United States.

"An objection to two-tier (in either of its forms) was that the junior high school provides education for only two years, too short a time for traditions to develop within a school. Together with the desire to break down what was believed to be too sharp a distinction between primary and secondary education, this criticism generated interest in three-tier plans. In such a system a child's educational experiences would take place in lower (five to nine), middle (nine to thirteen), and upper (thirteen to eighteen) schools. Three-tier plans might or might not have separated students according to their ability at the age of thirteen.

"Sixth form college plans called for a common school for all children through the age of sixteen, which in 1972 will be the compulsory leaving age in Britain. Those pupils remaining at school to pursue a more academic course would transfer at sixteen to a sixth form college to prepare for university entrance examinations. Students undertaking a more vocational training programme would attend the technical college, leaving the sixth form college to concentrate on more academic work. Consequently, the college could be expected to preserve some of the values thought to be upheld by grammar schools." P.E.P.

Thus, the comprehensive principle had gradually been gaining ground since 1944. "The case of the London County Council, which as early as 1944, decided to introduce a comprehensive system of schools in its area, provided ammunition to the critics of the tripartite system," A.K. and by 1965, it was estimated that about half the local education authorities had voluntarily established schemes which tended towards development on comprehensive lines. "Several of these authorities had already begun or made preparations for a two-tier system of schooling rather like the Leicestershire pattern, with combines lower-secondary education (junior high school) for almost all boys and girls, even if there was branching-out afterwards for different kinds of courses based upon supposed differences in ability and almost indisputable differences in attainment." E.J.K.

"During the past two decades, the Labour Party has advocated reorganization of secondary education in order to facilitate social mobility and provide more equal educational opportunities." P.E.P.

"The views of the two-parties on equality of educational opportunity as a citizenship right may be contrasted in terms of two ideal conceptual categories: the elitist and the egalitarian. The elitist conception was espoused by the Conservatives. As all elite theories it implied a dichotomy of society into elites and others or a class system with a clearly demarcated elite group at the top. Conservative thinking allowed for the acceptance of 'functional elites,' even elites recruited on the basis of merit. But the Conservative assessment of 'merit' was based on a rather narrow conception of knowledge and education." A.K. Down to the 1960's, therefore, Conservatives continued to support the tripartite system of education which "was in line with the Conservative principles of freedom of choice, 'equality of opportunity,' preservation of traditional conceptions of 'knowledge,' 'standards,' 'authority,' and the like." A.K.

Even when the Conservatives were aware of the disparities between the different types of school, they did not abandon their position; instead, they advocated improving the quality of instruction in the different types of schools.

Conservative thinking in the 1960's has been somewhat modified and there has been a cautious acceptance of the principle of comprehensive reorganization, although the party is conservative enough to wish to retain existing efficient grammar schools.

One of the main reasons why the Conservatives have been obliged to change their minds is the weight of the evidence from pshchologists and sociologists which shows convincingly the unfairness of the tripartite system.

The findings of the psychologists, like P.E. Vernon and even more the findings of sociologists, like Jean Floud, D.V. Glass, A.H. Halsey, T. H. Marshall and many more, gave psychological and sociological backing to the Labor party's point of view. As Peterson says: "It was the middle class child whose family background provided him with the skills and interest necessary to achieve well enough in primary schools so that he could obtain a high score on the eleven plus examination, the major prerequisite for admission to the grammar school. Most remaining children attended secondary modern schools. Although these schools have officially been described as 'different' and not 'inferior', the myth has scarcely fooled parents and children. Those who 'failed' the eleven plus examination went to the modern school. By and large, these children were of working class origins." P.E.P.

The weight of the evidence showed that selection at eleven plus was educationally, socially and psychologically undesirable and without selection, the tripartitie system is untenable.

The tripartite system is now in process of being replaced by one of six different types of comprehensive system and King says: "In all fairness we should note that despite the widespread use of the word 'comprehensive' there are very few genuinely comprehensive schools." E.J.K. Thus, it is not possible to assess the effectiveness of change, because the system is not yet fully working and policy is being formulated as the system is being put into practice. In fact, a new Education Act is still in the offing and the possibilities of "sixth form colleges" are being seriously considered.

Similarly, it is too early to assess the effectiveness of the changes, although the first findings seem to be favorable: "A survey published by Professor Robin Pedley in February, 1969, shows steady improvement in Comprehensive schools G.C.E. examination results, despite widespread innovation and radical experiments. Public opinion, not really ready to be impressed, is slowly being convinced by evidence for the desirability of comprehensive schooling as a national policy. These pieces of information are now more widely canvassed in Britain than they have ever been - at least among people who have managed to get the information and the opportunity to discuss it in an unbiased way outside the political arena." E.J.K.

II. Structural Reform and Reorganization

The 1959 reforms established the principle of orientation but, "It was soon apparent that orientation under the 1959 reforms was not effective. A two-year period of observation and guidance was not long enough to make an adequate assessment of a pupil. Moreover, once a pupil had been allocated to a 'lycée' it proved extremely difficult to transfer him, no matter how unsuited he was to an academic form of secondary education, to a less demanding kind of school. Conversely, a pupil who was fitted for a 'lycée'it proved extremely difficult to transfer him, no matter how unsuited he was to an academic form of secondary education, to a less demanding kind of school. Conversely, a pupil who was fitted for a 'lycée' type of education could not be transferred because of his inability to catch up with a more difficult program. Thus in 1964 (Decree of 7 February 1964) the phase of observation and guidance was extended to cover the four-year period of what the French term the first phase of secondary education. At the same time, it was announced that all children who had satisfactorily completed their fifth year of elementary school would enter secondary education. Except in a few rural areas, where they would transfer to a college of general education (C.E.G.: 'college d'enseignement general'), all children would enter a college of secondary education ('college d'enseignement secondaire') which would give a four-year period of secondary schooling. It must not be supposed that the creation on paper of a 'common school' meant that it could be established overnight. The description, in fact, of the new educational structures both in the first and second phase of secondary education, rather represents what is in process of realization than what is already reality everywhere. Side by side with the new structures outlined here exist the old structures, some dating from before 1959 and others from the first period of reform from 1959 to 1964." W.D.H.

Similar confusion reigns over the structure of the second phase of secondary education and "there is no doubt that the swift changes in the plans for the second phase of secondary education have left the public, and even the educators themselves, in a state of bewilderment. Upon leaving the C.E.S., pupils are directed towards one of two main educational structures, which may be characterized as 'short' secondary education or 'long' secondary education- although there are critics who say these terms are misnomers and give rise to false conceptions. Broadly speaking, the short form leads either to a vocational or pre-vocational form of training and thence to employment. By contrast, the long form of secondary education leads to higher education. The 'short' secondary education will be catered for in Colleges of Technical Education (colleges d'enseignement technique - C.E.T.). The long secondary education is given in technical, modern and classical lycées which may be housed separately or under one roof.

The first steps towards reform were taken in 1959, when change was in the air. The 'social demand' for education was growing. The economy demanded a much more educated and skilled labor force. For over twenty years, the movement for reform, led by idealists but backed, to their credit, by not a few politicians, like the plans of the Revolutionaries, had floundered either on the Charybdis of external circumstances or the Scylla of legislative dissension. De Gaulle, although no Napoleon, seized the opportunity afforded by the brief interregnum when he wielded quasi-dictatorial powers to promulgate by decree the first series of reforms." W.D.H.

Proposals for reform go back as far as 1918 when a "group of young teachers who had all been soldiers and had banded themselves together under the title, 'Compagnons de l'université nouvelle', set out their plans for reform," W.D.H., the details of which resemble many that were advocated much more crucial, were the proposals of the Langevin-Wallon Commission which reported in 1947. In the interests of justice or equality for all children, the Commission demanded a complete reconstruction of the education system. "What the Commission termed 'first level education' includes both elementary and secondary education. Although the compulsory school age should remain at six, from three to seven the child should be placed in a nursery school. This would be followed by a common elementary school from seven to eleven. At eleven all children would enter a four-year observation phase, in which all would be educated together until the age of about 13, and then a number of options would be offered which would allow individual abilities to be detected. The system would be so devised that pupils could easily be transferred from one option to another. At fifteen, the third phase of schooling, the phase of 'determination', would begin, in which pupils would be separated into three tracks." One track would give a general apprenticeship course; one would give vocational education and the other further academic education.

"Unfortunately the Plan was not even discussed by the French Parliament. It encountered strong resistance, particularly from the teachers themselves, and was dismissed as idealistic and unrealistic at a time when France faced grave material difficulties. Yet it has acted as a seminal document for all the projects of reform that followed and, as can be seen from a comparison with what reforms have been effected since 1959, has in fact been implemented in many important respects." W.D.H.

Despite the failure to act on the proposals of the Langevin-Wallon Commission, certain progressive measures were undertaken in the immediate post-war period, the most important of which was the creation of the 'Classes Nouvelles' in 1945. These attempted to extend the one-year orientation period for all children from 11-12, which was introduced immediately before the war, to the whole of the first phase of secondary education.

"Each of these classes held only 25 pupils, and was taught, apart from such specialties as arts and crafts, by three teachers, two drawn from the literary disciplines and one from the scientific disciplines. These observed their pupils sytematically, and tried to detect individual aptitudes and abilities. The 'classes nouvelles', which were started under the aegis of forward-looking educators such as Gustave Monod and Edmée Hatinguais, came to an end in 1952. They were replaced by 'classes pilotes' which extended the work to various classes of the second phase of secondary education. Some 'lycees', such as those of Sevres and Montgeron, were designated as institutions in which all classes would be 'classes pilots'. This vast experiment has left its mark on secondary education, perhaps more upon its method than its practice." W.D.H.

The political situation in France presented the passage of any legislation for educational reform between 1947 and 1959. By that time, "French educational thought had crystallized. The reformers relied on a four point programme which may be summed up as: democratization of access and opportunity; rationalization of school and administrative functions; modernization of programmes; harmonization of curricula. The most important principle, that of democratization, possibly subsumes all the rest. It is the correct interpretation of this work which has been, and continues to be called into question. The forces are joined, but no one can say that the battle has been won.

The one great omission of the central government in recent years has been its failure to consult the teachers enough regarding the new educational structures of the reform, but the internecine quarrels that have gone on among teachers, and their lack of agreement, explain this reluctance on the part of the government, particularly if one considers the resistances that every reform plan since 1945 has engendered." W.D.H.

The Féderation de l'Education Nationale supports reform on the lines suggested by the Langevin-Wallon Commission but SNES for secondary school teachers tends to be more conservative in outlook, while the Société des Agrégés is still more reactionary. The root cause of the trouble is the marked difference in pay, privileges and status enjoyed by the secondary school teacher as compared with the instituteur'.

The old elementary teacher ('instituteur') in France has lived in a separate world, 'le monde primaire', from that of the secondary teacher ('professeur'). Today, for the first time, they are thrown together in the C.E.S., the 'common school'. They differ not only in academic qualifications, but also in professional training. Both have hitherto lived within closed systems. The 'secteur primaire' of education has always been rather distained by the secondary teacher, whose instinct is to feel more at one with his university colleague." W.D.H.

But both groups stand to lose by the creation of the C.E.S. The secondary school teacher feels that now "he and the non-graduate teacher are placed cheek by jowl in the new 'middle school', the respect for him is waning. He feels that his own status has been diminished, and this will ultimately affect the salary differentials that have existed up to now.

"On the other hand, the non-graduate teacher finds himself saddled in the new C.E.S. with the teaching of all the less able children. Under the old selective system, since many children for financial or social reasons, were not transferred to secondary education, he at least had the stimulus of teaching a few bright pupils in the top classes." W.D.H. However, the C.E.S. are now an established fact but: "If the elitists have lost the battle regarding the C.E.S., they are determined to hold on to the refurbished but truncated 'lycee'. Although they have been forced to accept the fact of technical 'lycees', which to them seems almost a contradiction in terms, they will not yield without a struggle to any attempt to 'comprehensivise' what they regard, not without reason, as an outstanding educational institution." W.D.H.

The Société des Agrégrés has continued to support selection which it fails to see is class-biased. But one of the main aims of the French reforms the 'democratization of education' and the other is to provide the educated manpower needed by the French economy. The basic institutional change that has taken place to further these aims is that the elitist system of secondary education which survived until 1959 has been replaced by a common secondary school for at least the first four years.

"The difficulty of measuring the degree of democratization achieved is complicated by the different nomenclature of the schools before 1959, and of changes made at various stages of the reforms to date. But in general, democratization, as measured by the numbers of pupils from the lower socio-economic groups entering schools or branches of the system that lead on to higher education, has been slow. Moreover, although educational reform was started in 1959, it remains a fact that not until 1963 did material facilities improve. Between 1959-1963 less schools per year were constructed, and fewer teachers trained, than in 1958."W.D.H.

The research which preceded the formulation of policy was carried out by the planning commission and was mainly concerned with the numbers entering secondary education, the number of teachers required and the kinds of manpower by the economy.

The effectiveness of the reforms since 1959 will not be able to be judged until the end of the century, when they will have not only been realized in the establishment of educational institutions, but also in the creation of a different form of society.

III. Structural Reform and Reorganization - Sweden

Under the 1962 School Law, compulsory school attendance has been extended to nine years for all children. The comprehensive school ("grundskolan") is common to all youngsters of primary and lower secondary school age. The new system is being gradually introduced, and will be completely established during the school year 1972/73.

"The structure of post-compulsory schooling in Sweden (upper secondary education) is, predominantly as a consequence of the reorganized compulsory school, in the process of consolidation and simplification." S.M. At this upper level, reform has taken place in two stages.

First, attention was given to the courses of study offered at the upper secondary level and secondly, there is now an attempt to offer all these courses under one roof.

In the first stage, a completely new type of school was set up. This was the specialized professional school (Fackskols"). "The original draft proposal for this school was submitted in 1961 by the 1957 School Committee. Decisions of principle were taken in 1962 concerning the establishment of this school, and experimental activity has been under way since the school year 1963/64. In comparison with the original draft proposal, recommending four different types of specialized school, the final version, as accepted by Parliament in 1964, provides for a single type of such establishment with a certain division into different courses of study and branches." S.M. In addition, the academic secondary schools ("gymnasia") were restructured in 1965, so that the three present independent types, namely the general academic "gymnasium", the commercial "gymnasium" and the technical "gymnasium" have been replaced by one type of establishment offering different courses of study." S.M.

Vocational schools also came under scrutiny and it is as a result of proposals made by the Vocational Education Committee that the second stage in the reorganization of upper secondary education is taking place. "In its first report the 1963 Vocational Education Committee presented the outlines of a new 'gymnasium'. After further investigations, the Minister of Education gave a proposal to Parliament in 1968. In accepting this proposal Parliament decided that the three separate upper secondary schools of today, the 'gymnasium', the 'fackskola' and the vocational school, shall be put together into one school. This school was given the name 'gymnasium' although it does not correspond to the traditional European 'gymnasium.'"S.M.

The comprehensive principle has gradually been gaining ground in Sweden since the mid-1940's. "Thus, the 1940 School Committee considered that while secondary education should be modernized, there should be a parallel, extended elementary school, and that the secondary school should be for children who, in their eleventh year, were taken from the elementary school. The 1946 School Commission gave up the idea of parallel schools up to the age of sixteen years, and the nine-year comprehensive school was born, with at least three years' secondary education for all children." S.M. The actual rate of development of post-war education has followed closely the general programme of economic and social reform. One example of this is that the decision arrived at in 1950 to extend compulsory school attendance from seven to nine years was not made until after parliament, in 1948, had introduced child allowances, giving parents State aid for their children up to the age of sixteen years, that is, until the termination of attendance in the new school. This assistance is given in the form of cash payments, the same for each child, regardless of the parents' economic standing. In this way, lower secondary education could be made available to all children. Other social measures in conjunction with the extension of compulsory school attendance were free school books for all, free school meals, free journeys to school and free medical care at school." S.M.

Educational reform in Sweden has proceeded smoothly and with a very wide measure of support, mainly because of the committee system which allows politicians and educational experts to come together and iron out their differences at a very early stage, before any reform proposals have been crystallized.

The aims of the comprehensive school were formulated to satisfy the demands of the individual and of society at large. With a certain amount of generalization, they may be said to serve three purposes, all dependent on each other, namely (1) the self-realization of the individual, (2) manpower demands of the modern society, and (3) equal opportunities for all, regardless of sex, socio-economic status and geographical location.

The new nine-year comprehensive school implies a completely new conception of secondary education. Until 1946 the state committees had conceived of secondary schools for an elitist minority of students only. Since then, institutional changes have been made towards comprehensive schools, first at the lower secondary and then at the upper secondary level.

During the experimental period of the 1950's, results were being analyzed almost continuously. For each of the school years 1949/50 to 1960/61, an annual report of the experimental work on the nine-year comprehensive school was published by the National Board of Education, in 1957, when appointing the School committee, Parliament decided that a report summarizing the results of the whole experiment was to be issued. This report was written by the National Board of Education in collaboration with the Institute of Education and Psychology at the Stockholm School of Education. One discovery made during the experimental phase was that "The teachers 'in the field' did not achieve their own planning and their own experimental forms as quickly as had been hoped. The experimental work soon became rigid, and reverted to class instruction and collective methods of work in organizationally differentiated classes. It was not until towards the end of the experimental period that a determined attack was made on the problem of the negatively 'differentiated' classes (classes consisting of the pupils 'left over') and new, constructive work was begun." S.M.

When the experience gained during the experimental period was reviewed, the opinion was that more could be done than previously to provide teaching aids and to give teachers training and supplementary training to make them better prepared to solve the problems connected with their work.

The report on the work of the experimental schools stressed that teachers problems had proved to be of such importance that most of the possibilities for the comprehensive school depend on their solution, and that the results of the experimental work were "equal to the progress made in the solution of teachers problems." The shortage of teachers was the greatest obstacle. The teachers lack of formal training was bad enough, but the repeated change of teachers in the schools as a consequence of the shortage was an even greater inconvenience.

"Experience gained during the experimental period was not to form a basis for the 1957 School Committee's proposals of a more definitive design for the new compulsory school. In addition, the School Committee made a number of investigations, the results of which were also used as a basis for the proposed comprehensive school." S.M.

Thus, a great deal of research and evaluation of results was done before the comprehensive school was introduced universally in Sweden. But as the present reforms will not be fully implemented until 1971 at the earliest and as the long-term goal is to make reform a continuous process, there cannot yet be any evaluation of the outcome of reform and it seems doubtful if any final judgment will ever be made.

APPENDIX III

CURRICULUM REFORM

(Summaries of case studies from England, France and Sweden)

Rather little attention has been paid in Europe until recently to the reform of the curriculum. Traditionally, the content of education lies within the province of teachers at all levels of the educational system. Of particular importance is the way in which knowledge is organized and the power structure behind the maintenance of traditional ways of classifying it.

With the reform of the organizational basis of the second state of education, the need to reform the curriculum becomes very great. In order to do so, theories are required which will enable knowledge to be reclassified and organized into teachable subjects.

Attention is directed in this study to the debates about curriculum reform which have taken place; the practical proposals made and to the factors making for change and contributing to reform.

I. Curriculum Reform - England

The Ministry of Education's recommendations on curriculum after the 1944 Act, gave practical expression to the ideology of the Norwood Report of 1943, which "was based on the traditional view of liberal education, namely, that a general essentially grammar school education was the best preparation for all types of careers including commercial and industrial ones." A.K.

This liberal education had certain features which were traditionally associated with it. For example, "there was what may be called the 'cult of generalism.' As a socio-educational concept, 'generalism' was a characteristic of the gentleman ideal and of gentlemanly culture. The gentleman was a generalist and his 'vocation' was ruling and administering, i.e., he performed 'functions of the State.' He shunned narrow specialization, narrow expertise, and work with his hands. His education consisted of the accepted liberal studies. It was assumed that a general, primarily humanistic type of training developed the moral, intellectual and social qualities befitting the ruler of men." A.K.

Having accepted the tradition of a Grammar school education and at the same time sanctioned the idea that other types of education deserved to be called secondary, it was necessary to define more clearly the nature and function of modern school education.

"The modern school was to be for the majority of adolescents who 'learn most easily by dealing with concrete things and following a course rooted in their own day-to-day experience.' These practically-minded children should be given the chance 'to sample a variety of subjects and skills.' The curriculum of the modern school should not focus on the 'traditional subjects,' but should develop 'out of the interests of the children.' A.K.

But this Platonist rationale is rapidly being broken down. According to E. J. King, "it is recognized more and more that the most important contribution of schools is to provide the basic framework of minimum knowledge as an operational tool rather than a pattern of indoctrination or indeed initiation, and that the greatest values of education are those that develop internally to result in a conscious decision about their social application. The notion of an external authority of any kind appears less and less - at least in schools likely to be of ultimate significance for the well-being of today and tomorrow." E.J.K.

In 1944, the Ministry of Education set out suggestions for curriculum content in terms of the Platonic rationale: "In the first two years (ages 11 to 13), all secondary schools were to provide a relatively common core of subjects (history, English, geography, mathematics, general science, art, music, drawing, handicraft, and physical training). The differentiating feature between the grammar and the modern school with respect to this common core, was (a) the inclusion of Latin in the case of the former, (b) the fact that in modern schools there was to be greater emphasis upon practical subjects. The common curriculum of the technical schools was about the same as that of the grammar schools.

After this two-year common stage there would be greater differentiation based on the fact that the three types of schools catered for different types of students (in intellectual capacity, aptitude, and interest) and prepared for different educational and occupational goals. Thus the grammar school would concentrate on a unified course, consisting of literary and scientific subjects, which demanded "disciplined thought and the capacity to wrestle successfully with intellectual questions." The unified literary-scientific course would continue up to the age of 18, that is, it would carry over into the sixth form (ages 16-18) which would be an integral part of the entire grammar school education. In other words, it was assumed that the same content of education was appropriate both for those who continued after the age of 16 and for those who left school at 16." A.K.

Within the grammar school curriculum, subjects were also ranked in order of their supposed importance, the prestige given to the study of Latin being the prime example, but this was not the only distinction to be made. "As with Latin, differences in value persisted with respect to 'academic' versus other subjects, to general or liberal versus technical or practical, and even to the arts versus the sciences. Despite the tremendous advance of the study of the sciences and their inclusion in the curriculum of the schools, there was a greater aura of prestige and respectability attached to the arts. They continued to be regarded as more 'gentlemanly' subjects and to confer more social advantages to those who pursued them. Related to the above was the relatively low value, still the case today, given the social sciences in the general or liberal education of youth." A.K.

Outside the grammar schools, the Ministry thought: "the curriculum would include academic subjects (e.g. English, mathematics, history, geography and science), and practical subjects (e.g., 'physical education, art, music, handicraft and various kinds of housecraft, and--wherever possible--gardening and animal husbandry.') It was further suggested that in many schools, a foreign language should be encouraged." A.K.

Thus, in the 1950's, the curriculum of all secondary schools was based on that of the grammar school with some attempt to inject practical subjects into the curriculum of the modern schools. But in the 1960's some new subjects are entering the curriculum in response to the new thinking. For example, "the reflective and reconstructive urges of young people are fostered in what might be described as elementary philosophy, an analytical approach to problems of morality, religion, and society." E.J.K. This new outlook is also reflected in the organization of the schools. Streaming is gradually being abandoned or mitigated and in some schools, boys and girls are now kept in less juvenile tutelage, wearing their own clothing rather than school uniform, running their own societies, arranging their own dances and inter-school contacts, and generally growing up." E.J.K.

The outlook of the 1960's obviously demands new teaching methods as well as new subjects and new organization. But experiments in methods have been going on since 1944 Act. In the pamphlet, The New Secondary Education,[1] published in 1947 the Ministry of Education explicitly pointed out that "except for religious instruction, neither the subjects of the curriculum, nor the time spent on each, nor the way they are to be taught is laid down by the Ministry of Education." The responsibility rested with the head of the school and the local education authority. Both were encouraged to experiment freely for "freedom and flexibility are of its (the modern school's) essence and indeed its great opportunity." A.K.

Some suggestions were, however, put forward by the Ministry: "Academic subjects were to be approached practically and realistically. For example, local surveys were to be emphasized in the teaching of history and geography. Practical work, in turn, should be looked at as intellectual exercise as well. And in their work, the teachers of the modern school were urged to experiment with the project method and other similar activities." A.K.

But the 1960's have brought new demands on teachers and at present it seems that the new educational theories require teaching methods so advanced and so sophisticated that they are beyond the competence of many teachers.

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[1] Ministry of Education, The New Secondary Education (H.M.S.O., 1947), pp. 23, 29-30.

But even in the 1960's, much of what is taught in secondary schools is practically identical with what was taught in the 1950's because of the examination system. "Replacing the previous School Certificate, the General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level came into full use in 1951. It was a qualifying examination, giving information about a child's general education, and it was taken at the age of 16, i.e., after five years of secondary education. Originally designed for pupils in the selected grammar schools, it was gradually taken by an increasing number of children from the other types of schools. (Indeed by 1963 almost half of the candidates who sat for the G.C.E.'O' level came from other than grammar schools). The General Certificate of Education Advanced Level replaced the previous Higher School Certificate. It usually entailed two additional years of more specialized study in the sixth form, and as numbers in the sixth form increased, it developed to be of considerable importance for entrance into the colleges and universities. In short, the G.C.E. examinations became a crucial devise for selection. As they exerted considerable influence on the curriculum of the secondary schools and on the future educational and vocational destinations of secondary school children." A.K.

"Although the Ministry's intention was that the G.C.E. should follow the curriculum of the schools, it well nigh developed to determine it. In the minds of a large number of parents these examinations were, and still are, the raison d'etre of the school." A.K. However, "during the past two decades, and especially in this one, both expert and lay opinions about the validity and predictive reliability of tests and examinations of every kind have been revolutionized." E.J.K.

II. Curriculum Reform - France

The reform of the curriculum in France is based on the theory of progressive differentiation throughout the school system from about the tenth grade upwards. No new subjects have been added to the secondary school curriculum, because the new theory has not been completely accepted and "French C.E.S. must therefore be seen as a 'via media' between the traditionalists who support a basically two-track system of education, and those who believe in a unitary system not only in structures, but also in program content, teaching method, and what the French succinctly call 'l'esprit de l'enseignement'." W.D.H.

The French, however, continue to emphasize the intellectual function of the secondary school and the importance of general culture. But "what to learn is not unimportant also. The complexity of knowledge poses the necessity of choice. In France, the theory of communication science has been adopted: some traditional and new subjects may be considered as indispensable 'communicators' which must be learned before further knowledge can be acquired. These languages of communication have been enumerated as: first, a knowledge of the mother tongue, considered above all as the most indispensible means of communications; mathematics, considered as a symbolic language of science; technical drawing, because it is the symbolical language of technology; and one or more modern or classical languages because, although not indispensable, a knowledge of them adds a new dimension to thought. This may be as good a foundation as any on which to build a new system of secondary education, and is one that is undoubtedly reflected in the programmes. But the certainty is surely that no theory of general culture can any longer be accepted as fixed and unchanging. A culture conceived not only for, but for the many, not only disinterested, but also having its utilitarian aspect, must now constantly be adapted to meet changing conditions. If this is cultural relativism, it is a relativism that the French, like other Western nations, nevertheless find great difficulty in accepting." W.D.H.

The organization of the C.E.S. reflects the French difficulty in accepting new ideas, since the schools are divided into four different sections, "which are destined for different levels of ability. The two top sections are for gifted pupils, whom may be defined as those capable of undertaking abstract studies - the 'good conceptualizers'. The next section is 'for those of moderate capacity, who cannot proceed so far in their studies as their more gifted comrades, nor work at the same pace. Lastly, there is a section for those who find abstract concepts extremely difficult to understand and whose attention is only held by work of a practical or concrete nature based upon manual activities or their immediate environment. The programmes between the classical and modern sections are 'harmonized' so as to facilitate easy transfer between them, but are all very intellectual in content, considering that they are intended for some two-thirds of the range of ability." W.D.H.

Little change has taken place in the organization of the lycées. "French secondary schools such as the 'lycee' have not shaken off entirely the Napoleonic legacy of military-like discipline and regimentation. The school is an institution where young people are sent to be intellectually 'formed' - to use the French term in an inadequate English translation." W.D.H. However, "Pupil 'participation' in the administration of the school has recently been attempted in a number of schools, and there is a likelihood, since this lack of a say in affairs was one reason for some pupils going on 'strike' in May 1968, that these efforts will be redoubled." W.D.H.

One of the most important innovations of the C.E.S. was the concept of 'directed work' consist of groups of half the normal class size. "These classes had as their aim 'to lighten and clarify homework, to observe and direct the personal effort of pupils.' (Circular of 23 September 1960). They should instruct them in a 'method or work'. The French were concerned that these special classes should not be turned into extra lessons or more supervised study periods. The teacher should use the opportunity to individualize his teaching, showing the pupil separately how to prepare his work and overcome his personal difficulties." W.D.H.

The transitional classes of the C.E.S. also demand new teaching techniques. The aim of these classes is to enable under-achievers and slow developers to be brought up to the level of knowledge and skills that they should have attained in the elementary school, but at a slower rate and employing different methods.

"Long lessons are avoided, and short sessions each day in the three R's are characterized by pupil activity. The teacher must, if need be, start again from the most elementary level, so that, for example, simple exercises such as weighing should not be despised. Moreover, the skills can be exercised by means of what are termed 'the awakening disciplines' of history, geography, the observation sciences and the study of the environment. Local resources should be used, and visits to interesting places in the locality should be a feature of the course. Individualization of work, or work in small groups, and project activities should be encouraged. Extra-curricular activities, which are often neglected in France, are recommended. Social education within the class - elections, debates, collective control of activities - should also be practices. Much of this sounds commonplace to Anglo-Saxon ears, but is certainly novel in the French context, where intellectualism rather than socialization has tended to be the dominant note." W.D.H.

Recently, too, the French have broken new ground in audio-visual methods of language teaching and they have profoundly influenced methodology in many European countries. "Yet, despite all this, the typical teaching method is still the traditional authoritarian one, where memory, blackborad, pen and paper have been the inevitable concomitants of a kind of learned Socratic dialogue or magisterial exposition ('cours magistral) in which the intellect alone was the focal point, and the realms of experience, imagination and sensibility were excluded. So-called active methods, or intuitive methods such as those implicit in audio-vidual techniques, or group methods in which a class works as a team, have found little favor among run-of-the-mill teachers. Yet there are signs in France, as elsewhere, that youth, stimulated by the class media, is no longer willing to submit to the mental discipline that the old methods entail. In any case, the gradual introduction into the curriculum of such 'new' subjects as modern mathematics and technology, a wider concept of aesthetic education, and programmes in sociology, law and economics have left a methodological vacuum that remains to be filled. The French Fifth Plan, in relation to education, specifically allocated funds for what it termed 'research on programming and audio-visual techniques'. But it is to be feared that the planners have outstripped the teachers in their thinking." W.D.H.

New evaluation techniques have, however, been developed in that orientation can take place. "In the last year of elementary education pupils are carefully observed in order to discern their aptitudes. A school record (dossier pédagogique) is established for each one, which consists of the following information:

1. The individual record of achievement, including the marks and class positions in the three R's in the top elementary grade ('Cours moyen 2'-CM2).

2. The exercise books containing the monthly written tests done in the penultimate primary grade (CM-1) and in CM 2. These tests consist solely of dictations followed by a few questions to test ability in the mother tongue, and of arithmetical exercises.

3. Detailed comments on the pupil's interests and aptitudes, and on his behavior in and out of class.

4. A medical record card.

5. Where applicable, a record card made out by the school and school guidance counselors.

On the basis of this information, a committee consisting of inspectors, teachers and others (including a representative of the parents), after taking into account the wishes of individual parents, makes a decision as to which section of the C.E.S. the child should enter. (Hantute), "Comment recrute-t-on les éleves de sixième?" Education Nationale, 3 February 1966, pp. 12-13).

In this way the first orientation of the pupil is made. This kind of guidance and counseling now becomes a continuous process, with certain 'nodal points'on the way.

In the lycées, the amount of work is in direct proportion to the very thorough and rigorous system of evaluating and classifying pupils that is carried out. Each subject discipline is tested once a term, at some time during the three month period, by means of the 'compositions'. These exercises are intended to act as a stimulus to revision of work, and are given in normal lesson times, each lasting one hour. The teacher is no less irritated than the pupil by this system. He has to mark each composition carefully, and assign a score out of 20 to it, as well as making a verbal comment upon it. His assessment is recorded in the pupil's school record. The practice of 'compositions' is also supplemented by a system of 'interrogations', which may be oral or written. Working through the class list, a teacher selects two or three pupils from time to time to interrogate orally upon their work, so that by the end of term he will have dealt with the whole class; alternatively, if he decided to 'interrogate' by a written test, the class may be required to write upon a given subject for twenty minutes or so. Marks are also given here. At the end of term, an average mark for each subject, based upon his performance in the various tests, is entered upon the pupil's report, which is often awaited with great eagerness - and not a little trepidation - by both pupil and parents.

The tests set are of conventional style, but objective tests are made in connection with the 'orientation' process at the end of sixth, seventh and ninth grades, and are usually of the intelligence test variety." W.D.H.

At the end of the academic secondary school, the French pupil still faces the ordeal of the baccalaureat, which "has become the subject of endless discussions, which have mainly centered round three themes: Should the examination guarantee a minimum of general culture? Should it merely be considered as the crowning point of secondary studies? Should it continue to give unrestricted access to the university?

III. Curriculum Reform - Sweden

The "Contemporary aim of general education," as defined by the 1957 School Committee, "requires that the school should develop certain attitudes, habits, abilities and knowledge which are not *per se* directly necesary for the more or less specialized future work of the pupil.

This leads to the aim of providing a common, broad core of learning. In view of the increased amount of leisure, the Committee said, the school should, in addition, "make it possible for the pupils to use their leisure in a positive and constructive way. This means that the school should develop their critical judgment and sense of quality in making choices with respect to literature, the cinema, art, music, hobbies, etc. ..." This opportunity should be given to all pupils according to their abilities and interests. Another aim, which takes on particular importance in view of the increasingly vast fields of knowledge and the rapid changes within them, is that, in the Committee's words, the school should, "rather than teaching bare facts, develop the ability of the pupils to discover knowledge by themselves and critically test its value." Hence, a stress on principles rather than facts, which has naturally led to much debate in Sweden.

From the definition of general education given above, it follows that all education which cannot be classified as general education is considered to be vocational education.

In addition, the principle of freedom of choice is included in the new Education Act, Article No. 25, which stipulates that a pupil's courses are to be decided upon by the parents in consultation with the pupil after information has been provided by the school. This principle is thus considered fundamental to the comprehensive school. While the principle of free choice could certainly be considered important enough to constitute an end in itself, it may also be seen as a fulfillment of the 'democratic' objective or even of the general objective of equal rights." S.M. Since according to the school Committee, freedom of choice 'gives democracy' and as the Committee noted, "A pupil, if rejected from a desired branch, ...would regard his rights...as more limited than those of his comrades." S.M.

It proved more difficult to decide on how democratization could best be achieved in practice and the debates on this issue centered around the problems of differentiation. By 1960-62, the discussion had resolved itself into a final encounter around the problem of integrated classes and whether alternative courses were to be allowed or not. In 1962, Parliament decided on a changeover to a system of integrated classes. "The decision made in 1962 regarding integrated classes only meant that the choice of alternative courses was not to determine how the pupils were to be assigned to classes. But during this final phase, the whole system of alternative courses was debated. A retreat from a strict division to pedagogical differentiation was in evidence. The School Committee's report contained a compromise, according to which alternative courses could be arranged in English and mathematics. The alternative courses in German, physics and chemistry were abandoned. In German and in French which became an alternative to German in 1962 after having previously been the third foreign language, a distinction was made between the ordinary course and one called the 'smaller course,' which was to be studied quite independently and with different numbers of lessons a week. The division wasabandoned completely in physics and chemistry." S.M. However, at the upper secondary level, no great changes in the curricula are planned for the new "gymnasium" starting in 1971/72. "Different programs will, at least for years to come, work side by side under the same roof. All along the new 'gymnasium' will function as a streamed upper secondary school." S.M. However, the Secondary School Committee considered the aims and educational content of the "gymnasium" in 1965 and made some recommendations in the light of demands made on the gymnasium by different groups of employers, society in general and the students themselves.

The broad task of the "gymnasium" is to encourage the development of the students' personalities, with special emphasis on their critical faculties; to develop good working habits, particularly with a view to the planning and execution of independent tasks in later studies or at work; to foster the general ability to communicate in Swedish and foreign languages and to handle mathematics and statistics; to equip students for undertaking higher education or for their future activity in different sectors of the labor market; and to prepare them for life in society through a study of the natural as well as the social sciences, and through instruction in literature and aesthetic, religious, philosophical and psychological problems, giving due weight to the international and historical perspectives.

"The comprehensive school is divided into three departments or levels: a lower department ('lagstadiet'), comprising grades 1-3; a middle department ('mellanstadiet') grades 4-6; and an upper department ('hogstadiet') grades 7-9 and one important innovation is that pupils begin their first foreign language - English - in grade 4, and from 1970 already in grade 3. In addition, there is much else that is new in the middle department. For example, religion, social studies, history, geography and nature study have been brought together, with respect to the arrangement of the curriculum and time scheduling, into a single group known as 'general subjects.'" S.M.

In the upper department, the changes are mainly organizational. From 1962 the principle of integrated classes has been established and pupils have complete freedom to choose which courses they wish to take. In addition, there was a reduction in the maximum size of classes from 35 to 30 in both the middle and upper departments. "The reason for the decision on decreased class sizes, and consequently lower pupil/teacher ratio is to be found in the new school's principle of individualized instruction. At the time of the reform, it was thought that lower ratios would promote the implementation of this principle; the fewer pupils per teacher, the greater the chances for successful individualized instruction." S.M.

There continues to be a somewhat modified system of grading in the comprehensive school. "Starting with the autumn term of grade 6 to the end of the comprehensive school, marks are given for both the autumn and spring terms. In grades 2 to 5, however, pupils are marked only at the end of each spring term. This is a certain departure from the former Swedish system.

"Marks for the autumn term are intended mainly as a preliminary indication of performance to guide parents and pupils in their choice of streams and optional subjects. The marks given at the end of the spring term cover the work of the entire school year.

"Scales of marks in the new comprehensive school will differ from those used previously. The letters used formerly (A, a, AB, Ba, B, Bc and C) have been replaced by a five degree numerical scale in which the highest mark is 5 and the lowest 1, the mark 3 being considered average. To ensure uniformity of standards, there exist national standardized tests in some subjects. These are used particularly at the end of grades 3, 6 and 8, i.e., when the pupils change teachers and/or departments. There are still marks for general comportment but these are being gradually abolished and replaced by intensified contacts with the homes." S.M.

In the ninth grade of the comprehensive school, "the qualifications provided by grades 9g, 9h, 9t, 9m, and 9s are of approximately equal value. The differences that exist concern a relatively limited number of subjects. Pupils who have a gift for languages, and whose inclinations are towards vocations in which several languages are required, are best served by streams 9g and 9h. Those who are specially gifted in mathematics and science and intend to enter an occupation which demands a good knowledge of such subjects, will, assuming they take the special mathematics course, gain suitable qualifications from any of the other streams mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph.

"Pupils in streams 9g, h, m, s and t are all entitled to enter the 'gymnasium' and 'fackskola' (as well as the vocational school). In some cases, however, such admission is subject to certain conditions, notably pre-requisites in the form of the more specialized courses in languages or mathematics. Pupils who have taken only the short course in German or French, but have very good marks in their other subjects, may be accepted for some strams of the 'gymnasium'.

"As acceptable level of performance in streams 9tp, 9ht, 9ha, and 9pr of the comprehensive school will qualify pupils for direct admission to various occupations or further training in vocational schools and in some cases in the 'fackskola'.

"For a large number of occupations, it is immaterial which stream is chosen in grade 9, and in such cases, the choice of a 'wrong' stream is not particularly prejudicial to a pupil's interests. Moreover, it is possible for a pupil to make up for lacking qualifications - by e.g., taking a special course in mathematics if, after completing the comprehensive school, he wishes to enter an occupation which requires higher theoretical qualification." S.M.

At the level of the upper secondary school, "the duration of studies in the 'gymnasium' up to transfer to the university or to specialized colleges is normally three years. The technical curriculum takes four years and it is so organized as to permit a transfer to academic studies after the third year.

"There are five main curricula - for liberal arts, for social sciences, and for natural sciences, taken together, correspond roughly to the present general academic 'gymnasium' even though the contents differ in many respects. Similarly, the economic and technical curricula correspond to the present commercial 'gymnasium' and technical 'gymnasium' respectively.

"The 1965 'gymnasium' in the initial stages of the study programme, is very little differentiated, i.e. the same or similar courses will be provided for the majority of the pupils. The nucleus of subjects, common to all, is very large in the first year of study and constitutes about 70 percent of the total number of periods in the whole course. This percentage then decreases to 50 and finally in the last year to 25 percent." S.M.

The teaching techniques are designed to place the maximum emphasis on students' independent work. In the first year classes would be divided into small groups in order to provide instruction and training in study techniques. "In addition, so-called 'piece-studying' would be introduced in the second year. This means division of a given subject into portions, each of which is dealt within the class during a period of a few weeks: simultaneously, the students would work intensively, either individually or in small groups, on a specific problem related to the subject matter being studied and would report on their results to the full class. In the autumn term of the second year, this method would be used in at least one subject, and in subsequent terms in at least two subjects." S.M.

There should also be coordination in the arrangement of courses in the curriculum with a view to showing students the connection between different subjects. In addition, the teaching is to be directed more to the individual student than previously.

"The Fackskola has many characteristics which are generally similar to those of the 'gymnasium' with respect to aim curriculum content and differentiation. The 'Fackskola' can thus provide a comparatively broad basic education whose content includes a relatively large proportion of general knowledge. The school will, however, be more vocationally orientated than the 'gymnasium' in order to prepare the students more rapidly for gainful employment. It is true that the different courses of study in the 'fackskola' have a rather large common nucleus of subjects, but this common core is considerably smaller than in the 'gymnasium.'" S.M.

The three different courses of study are social, economic and technical and these curricula are in turn divided into branches, mainly in the second year. The teaching methods used in the Fackskola are similar to those used in the "1965 gymnasium" with the emphasis on developing students' study techniques and the introduction of "piece studying" in the second year.

The vocational school curricula are already being adapted for use in the new "gymnasium" of 1971.

"Vocational education will be organized according to the 'bloc principle.' The introductory courses in the first bloc will be common to a great number of vocations. The differentiation will come gradually in later blocs, but even in the final courses there will be less specialization than in the old vocational schools.

"Vocational education will also embrace general subjects up to one-third of the timetable. Swedish, Civics, and Physical Education will be given to everybody. Pupils will also have possibilities to combine vocational subjects with 'gymnasium' or 'fackskola' courses. They will also have possibilities to change from 'theoretical' streams to 'practical' streams and vice versa. Vocational education will be in most cases four 2-year programs." S.M.

APPENDIX IV

LIST OF PAPERS PRESENTED

C. Arnold Anderson	Notes on Educational Statistics
Mary Jean Bowman	European Secondary Educational Reform: Reactions of an Economist.
William W. Brickman	The Changing German Secondary School
Detlef Glowka	The Analysis of School Systems Under the Aspect of Differentiation
Brian Holmes	Competing Traditions in European Attempts to Find a New Rationale for Education
Aime Janicot	Reaction to the Project of Dr. Halls
Andreas M. Kazamias	Gentlemanly Culture in a Welfare State: Educational Innovations in Postwar Britain
Edmund J. King	The Gentleman Ideal and the English School System.
Joseph A. Lauwerys	General Problems and Trends 1945-69
Denis Lawton	a) Social, Political and Economic Conditions in Postwar Europe and Reform in Secondary Education b) Sociological Commentary on "The Changing German Secondary School" by William W. Brickman

	c) Sociological Commentary on Sixten Marklund's "Secondary Education in Postwar Sweden."
	d) Sociological Ecommentary in Professor Kazamias' Paper.
Paul Nash	Theoretical Interpretation of the Changes in Educational Policy in European Secondary Education
Paul E. Peterson	An Overview of the Politics of Education in Postwar Europe and the United States
Saul B. Robinsohn	A Differential Analysis of Development Trends of Secondary Education in Postwar Europe
Helga Thomas	Criteria for Selection of Data for a Cross-National and Inter-Deisciplinary Analysis of European Secondary Educational Reforms